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THE UNION,

PAST AND FUTURE:

HOW IT WORKS, AND HOW TO SAVE IT.

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AND

HOW TO SAVE IT.

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BY A CITIZEN OF VIRGINIA.

There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light, and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches, for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep.—*Bacon.*

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THE UNION,

PAST AND FUTURE:

HOW IT WORKS, AND HOW TO SAVE IT.

The time has come when it behooves every Southern man to consider the best means of preserving the Union which he loves, and the rights and honor which are yet dearer. Sixty years have passed since the Northern and Southern States entered into a treaty for "the common defence and general welfare." We joined that league as equals: its strictly defined powers were to be exercised for the equal good of all the parties, and its benefits and burdens were to be equally shared. But our allies at the North have grown strong under the fostering protection of this great treaty, and are no longer content with the equal conditions upon which it was formed. They have perverted it from its original character, not only wielding the granted powers for sectional and oppressive purposes, but assuming every doubtful power for their exclusive advantage. In this spirit, they have advanced far in a series of measures, which, if unresisted, must end in the overthrow of our slave institutions. But it cannot be doubted that a free people still untamed by the yoke of oppression and the stamp of inferiority, will resist such assaults. The South has at stake, not merely the fourteen hundred millions of dollars, the value of her slave property, but all of honor and of happiness that civilization and society can give. To count the means of resistance, the relative strength of the opponents, the value of what we must hazard, and the surest ways of preserving the Union in its original equality, is the object of this Essay.

The history of the causes of the present crisis is the history of ever-growing demands on the part of the North, and of as constant concessions from the South. A hasty glance at the past will aid us to divine the future.

Virginia owned an immense territory to the northwest of the Ohio river, acquired by the same titles with the soil of the Old Dominion itself—the royal grants, her treasure, and her blood. More than one of her ancient colonial charters covered this whole domain, and in 1778, at her own expense, she fitted out an expedition for its conquest. Her gallant son, George Rogers Clarke, at the head of a small but daring band, penetrated hundreds of miles through a savage and hostile country, expelled the English, subdued the Indians, and conquered for his mother State an empire larger than the Austrian. For the sake of the Union, Virginia gave up this fine country, larger than all the Southern States of the Old Thirteen, and by "an act of grosser futility," as Randolph said, "than ever poor old Lear or the knight of La Mancha was guilty of," she suffered her own citizens to be excluded from its benefit; for it was then a slaveholding territory, and the ordinance of 1787, abolishing slavery there, was passed chiefly by Northern votes, and that, as Mr. Madison said, "without the shadow of constitutional authority." It was a country well suited for slavery, for even so late as 1806 we find a convention of the inhabitants of Indiana petitioning for its temporary introduction, and a committee of the House of Representatives reporting through their chairman, Mr. Garnett of Virginia, in favor of their prayer. But while Virginia was guilty of this suicidal generosity, she annexed one condition for her own advantage, that not more than five States should be formed out of this territory, so as to preserve a due balance of political power in the Union. Yet even this condition the North has violated, and 22,336 square miles of its area, more than the average size of all the free States east of the Ohio, have gone to constitute the future State of Minnesota.

This was the first step, and the next was at the formation of the present Constitution, when a contest arose as to the ratio of representation. Should the South have as many representatives in proportion to her population as the North? It was just and right that she should. The Federal Government had no concern with the relations between blacks and whites, the different classes of her population. It had no right to inquire whether the negro was a slave or free. The slaves were a better population than the free negroes, and if the latter were to be counted at their full number in the apportionment of representation, so ought the former. The right could not be refused, because the slaves were naturally or legally unequal to the whites, for so are the free negroes. It could not be refused because they have no political rights, for neither have free negroes, paupers, women, or children. They are an essential part of the population, of absent their

places upon the footing of other laborers, and if they are property as well as population, it is argued that it is unjust to withhold from their owners the security of full representation for them. But the South has actually violated the Northern ordinance, and agreed that five slaves shall count only as three free negroes. Therefore, instead of 105 Representatives in Congress, we have only 91.

But the free States are not content with this, and now propose to take away twenty-one more of our Representatives. They say that the right of representation for three-fifths of our slave population is a sufficient reason for refusing admission into the Union to any new slave States; and Massachusetts has proposed, by a solemn legislative resolution, to amend the Constitution so as to deprive us of this guaranteed representation. Public meetings and influential men have approved of the proposal.

In return for the surrender of her rights, the South inserted into the Constitution two other provisions in her favor. The first provided that direct taxes should be apportioned amongst the States in the ratio of their representation. In enforcing this provision, we ought now to pay a little more than one-fifth of the taxes; we actually pay under the present system over three-fourths. The amount levied from customs since the foundation of the Government has been about $47,000,000; and had these duties been paid in the ratio which the Constitution intended, the South would have paid 442, and the North 605. But, as we have already shown, the slave States have really paid 705 millions, and the free States only 346. Therefore, the South has gained nothing by the stipulation in return for her loss of representation.

The other stipulation in favor of the South was, that "no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." This provision rests for its due fulfilment, not merely upon the Federal Government, but, like a treaty stipulation between distinct nations, must be carried into effect by the municipal regulations of the parties, and their comity and good feeling. Yet what has it been worth to the South? So far from executing this clause, and "delivering up" the runaway slaves, the free States refuse to pass any efficient law to that end in Congress, and forbid in their State Legislatures and even their domestic laws, that any federal law, even if enacted, can be effectively executed. In their own Governments, they make it a criminal offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any officer, and in some States for any *citizen*, to assist in seizing or "delivering up" a fugitive slave. Their whites and their free negroes assemble in mobs to rescue the slave from the master who is bold enough to capture him, and then accusing him of the riot they made themselves, throw him into a felon's jail and load him with fetters, as Pennsylvania has recently done by a respectable citizen of Maryland. When Troutman, of Kentucky, pursued his slaves into the town of Marshall, in Michigan, he was surrounded by a mob, and by the most influential citizens, who declared that "*strange as the law may be in this case*, yet public sentiment must and shall supersede it," and a resolution was tumultuously adopted that "these Kentuckians should remove from this place these slaves by force, physical, or *legal* if practicable." An aggravated fine of $100 for the *trespass* in attempting to arrest his slaves; and he was required to appear at the next Circuit Court for having a pistol on a negro who was trying the door of the room. But this was mild treatment compared with the fate of the farmer Kennedy, of Hagerstown. When he followed his slaves into Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and was publicly, and with his own consent, bringing him away, an infuriated mob of whites and free blacks, headed by the Professor of a College, assaulted and brutally murdered him! It is estimated by Mr. Clingman that the whole loss to the South in fugitive slaves is not less than seven millions of dollars. Mr. Butler, of the Senate, estimated the annual loss to the South at $2,000,000; but this statement is much more probable that he was under the true amount. The [illegible] by the Northern States is [illegible] to voluntary [illegible] from the South, but [illegible] of the runaway slaves, whom it can force [illegible] to work at merely [illegible] wages. So much for the value of the second stipulation, which the slave States accepted as an equivalent for their loss of representation.

After the adoption of the Constitution, there was a considerable party in Northern and Eastern States. There were still a few slaves in all the free States, except Massachusetts, and many of their citizens were deeply and openly interested in the slave trade. It was even [illegible] by the Senate of the United States [illegible] D'Wolff, who represented Rhode Island as a member of the Senate of the United States [illegible] 1805 made an immense fortune by this traffic. The Brazil and Cuba markets are [illegible] supplied with captive Africans by Yankee vessels; but this is now [illegible] Under the pretext of [illegible] to the South, her slaves [illegible] in 1790, to about 9,000, and [illegible] were virtually free. Her [illegible] in Congress [illegible] at the same time. In 1793, the South had as many votes in the Senate, and [illegible] in the House. In 1803, the North had a majority of two in the [illegible] and in the [illegible] was [illegible] Missouri

1819–'20 for admission into the Union, that the pretension was first set up that no new slave State should enter the Confederacy. A clause prohibiting slavery was inserted into the bill for the admission of Missouri, when it became apparent that her people would reject such a bill, if passed, and with a government regularly organized according to all the constitutional precedents, would remain without the Union as a separate, independent State, unless the Federal authority undertook to subdue her, and convulsed the country by a civil war. In this state of the question, the South had only to remain firm, and the North would be forced to yield; but, as usual, the South was weak enough to retreat from her ground, and in her love for the Union she submitted to a provision forever prohibiting slavery in all that part of the Territory of Louisiana (except Missouri itself) which lies north of 36° 30′, the *southern boundary* of Virginia and Kentucky. The South thus lost, without any equivalent, nine tenths of what was already a slave territory, purchased by the common treasure. She retained only 140,000 square miles for the emigration of her own citizens, and surrendered 965,000 to the North.

Yet even this so called compromise, forced upon us by Northern votes, is now spurned by the free States. They have derived all the possible benefit from it on this side of the Rocky mountains, and they refuse us the poor advantage, which it would secure, of 204,383 square miles out of 867,541 on the other side!

From this time, the Northern ascendancy was confirmed, if not in the present, yet in the future distribution of political power, which would result from her overwhelming superiority in territory. The abolition societies sprung up with new vigor, and the halls of Congress were made the field of incendiary agitation. Fanaticism, both in and out of Congress, denied that slaves were property, and in the debate on the Marigny D'Auterive case, claims for compensation for their loss in the public service were opposed on this ground. The whole country was pervaded by "a politico religious fanaticism," which, in the language of Randolph of Roanoke, "has insinuated itself wherever it can to the disturbance of the public peace, the loosening of the keystone of the Constitution, and the undermining of the foundation on which the arch of our Union rests." Demagogues of either party bid for the votes of these fanatics by assaults upon Southern rights, and the anti-slavery feeling, thus stimulated, has spread through the masses, and grown too strong to be controlled. Hear again the prophetic wisdom of the Virginia orator, uttered twenty five years since, on this very subject: "Men commence with the control of things—they put events in motion, but after a very little while events hurry them away, and they are borne along with a swift fatality that no human sagacity or power can foresee or control." So has it been with this anti-slavery movement. Its leaders then assured us that no harm was intended, and our rights would never be invaded. Mr Burges, of Rhode Island, one of the most distinguished Northern men of his day, said, after an elaborate argument to show the South how little she had to fear, "From neither of these classes, therefore, have Southern men anything to apprehend, or to produce excitement. The enthusiasts will not disturb them, for they have not the power to do it. The philanthropists will not do it, for *they will not, for any supposed good, rush to escape the legal rights of others*. From the politicians they have nothing to apprehend, because they will not only not break the laws of their country for any purpose whatever, or better the condition of any men against his own will, but because they will not diminish the political weight and influence of themselves and their own States for any purpose of augmenting that of other men or other States." [Mr. B. affected to believe that the prosperity and consequent political power of a slave State would always be inferior to that of a free State.] "No, be ye assured throughout all the regions, the philanthropist will never *unjustly relieve the slave from the master; the politician will never illegally relieve the master from the slave*."—Cong. Deb. vol. iv. 1096.) Mr. Robbins, Mr. Briggs, and other eminent men, held similar language. Mr Holmes, of Maine, a Senator, went so far as to declare that the refusal to deliver up fugitive slaves was virtual emancipation, and to suppose such a refusal on the part of Pennsylvania as an *extreme case*, to illustrate his argument. This last was as late as 1833. What an advance since then! Yet these assurances were about as true as those now made, that slavery shall not be touched within the States—that the town shall not be entered when all the walls are captured. The South, however, confided in them, and remained quiet: and presuming on this the war was waged with ever-growing zeal. In vain did Randolph cry to the South, "*principiis obsta*"—in vain did his shrill Cassandra tones point out the nature of the attack, that the enemy was proceeding, "not to storm the fort, but to sap," that we ought to remember the sentiment, "*nec ri sed sæpe cadendo*," and "permit no attack to pass, no matter in how demure and apparently trivial an aspect it may be presented." The South would heed no warning. When the flood of abolition petitions began first to pour in on Congress, they were received and referred to appropriate committees, as the members presenting them might move, and duly reported on. This course only encouraged the movement, until the South was at last roused into a refusal to receive petitions so insulting, and which prayed for such gross violations of her constitutional rights. But it was said that this refusal afforded a pretext for fanatical agitation, and that all would be quiet if the old plan was restored. The House of Representatives, therefore, repealed the rule against the reception of such petitions, and what has been the result

There can be but one answer—an ever-growing agitation, for fanaticism and unlawful violence feed and wax strong upon concession.

Meantime organized societies at the North were forging county seals and free papers to aid the slaves whom they seduced to escape, and inciting mobs to murder the owners who dared to recapture them. They distributed papers through the mails and by their agents, and spared no effort to kindle an insurrection among our slaves. They dared not have attempted such outrages upon Cuba or Brazil. Between separate nations they would be cause of war, and the offenders would have been treated as felons, if arrested. The offence was too notorious to be denied, and Gov. Marcy, in his message to the New York Legislature, in 1836, acknowledged it to be one of "the sacred obligations which the States owe to each other, as members of the Federal Union," "to punish residents within their limits, guilty of acts therein which are calculated and intended to excite insurrection and rebellion in a sister State." Yet so callous has the South grown to her wrongs by use, or so far have later injuries surpassed it, that she ceases to remember this flagrant and still subsisting violation of the spirit and intent of our Union!

It is now proposed to exclude the South from the Territory of California and New Mexico, 446,638 square miles, large enough to make more than eleven States equal to Ohio. The South paid her share, and, as we shall see, far more than her full share, of the expense of the Mexican war. Of the gallant volunteers who fought its battles, she furnished 45,640, and the North 23,084—but little more than half as many. The South sent one man out of every twenty-six of military age—the North only one out of every 124. How those battles were fought and won, of which section the generals were natives, whose regiments faltered, and whose left two of their men stretched upon the bloody field, while the third planted the stars and stripes upon the Mexican battlements, the South will leave to History to say. And now it is proposed to exclude the survivors and their fellow-citizens from the equal enjoyment of the conquests of the war! And why?—because, as the Vermont resolutions declare, "*slavery is a crime against humanity!*"

The North next proposes to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and so make a harbor for runaways, and a centre of abolition agitation in the very heart of Virginia and Maryland. This is to be done in defiance alike of good faith and of constitutional obligation; and why? because, as the Gott resolution, passed by the House of Representatives, declares, "*slavery is infamous!*"

The Northern vote in Congress on these questions is almost unanimous, without distinction of parties, against the South. The exceptions are daily fewer, swept away by the overpowering tide of fanatical public sentiment at the North. The State Legislatures are equally agreed. They have all, and the majority more than once, adopted resolutions of the most offensive character. The next threat is to abolish slavery in the dock yards, forts, and arsenals, for there Congress has the same jurisdiction and responsibility as in the District. It is asserted that slavery cannot exist, without a special law to establish it, in the new Territories, because property in negroes is, as they pretend, a creation of municipal regulation alone, and therefore ceases beyond the limits of the State which authorizes it. Not only does this argument fail in its major proposition, for there is no law establishing slavery in any State where it exists, but it fails also in its application, for the limits and authority of each slave State *do* extend to the new territory held by the common Federal agent. But, if true, by parity of reasoning, slavery cannot exist on the high seas, and so say our abolitionists. Therefore, the slaves who leave Richmond on a voyage to New Orleans are free as soon as the vessel leaves the shore. The prohibition of what they call the slave trade on the high seas, and then on the Mississippi, whose waters they pretend are common property, and then between the States, will quickly follow each other. What would be left the South in such a condition? With asylums for runaways and stations for abolition agents in every State, the mail converted into a colporteur of incendiary tracts, forbid to carry our slaves from State to State, unable to emigrate to new and more fertile lands, and thus renovate our fortunes and give our sons a new theatre for their energies, without sacrificing all our habits, associations, and property; and yet with all this, bound to pay taxes and fight battles for conquests, we are to have no share in and for a Government known to us only by its tyranny, how miserable would be our thraldom! Can any Southern man bear the idea of such degradation? He might endure the loss of his rich conquests in California, but can he bear to be excluded, because his institutions are infamous? because he is branded with inferiority, and under the ban of the civilized world? If he can, then is he worthy of all, and more than all, that is threatened him.

But abolition will not stop, even when slavery is thus hemmed in, "localised and discouraged," as Senator Chase proposes. Anti-slavery sentiment is to be made the indispensable condition of appointment to Federal office; and by thus bribing Southern men to treachery, the war is to be carried on to the last fell deed of all—the abolition of slavery within the States—for, to quote Randolph once more, "Fanaticism, political or religious, has no stopping place, short of Heaven, or—of Hell!"

The slave States have but 30 votes in the Senate, and two of these (Delaware) can hardly be counted upon in their defence. Nor is it possible to increase her strength by new slave States. Rufus

King long since avowed that the object of the North was political power, and she will never permit Florida or Texas to be divided. A serious claim is already set up to all Texas, west of the Nueces, as new territory, acquired by treaty from Mexico, to which the Wilmot proviso may and should be applied. The only territory south of the Missouri compromise line, and east of the Rocky Mountains, is the district of 58,316 square miles, ceded forever to the Indians; on the other hand the North has west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains, exclusive of the Indian territory.....723,248 square miles.

Add the part of the old Northwest Territory added to Minesota in violation of the Virginia deed of cession..	22,336	"	"
All of Oregon	341,463	"	"
In all of undisputed territory	1,087,017	"	"

or enough to make 28 such States as Ohio, or 21 larger than Iowa. This addition alone to the strength of the North would give her nearly the three fourths required to amend the Constitution and abolish slavery at her pleasure, if we can suppose that she would take the trouble to enact an amendment to do that which Mr. Adams declared could be done, in certain cases, under half a dozen clauses in the Constitution as it now stands. But when we consider that, *in case of our submission to the Wilmot proviso*, the North will have all California.....148,691 square miles.

New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande	121,933	"	"
Texas, between the Nueces and the Rio Grande	52,018	"	"
In all	625,642*	"	"

more than all the present free States, equal to 21 States of their average size, or 16 such States as Ohio, or 12 larger than Iowa, in addition to all we before computed, her preponderance becomes truly enormous. Fifteen slave States to 64 free States—not to mention the chances for several more in Canada! Can any one suppose that such a union could subsist as a union of equals?

In this alarming situation, the South has no hope but in her own firmness. She wishes to preserve the Union as it was, and she must therefore insist upon sufficient guaranties for the observance of her rights and her future political equality, or she must dissolve a Union which no longer possesses its original character. When this alternative is placed before the North, she will determine according to the value she places upon the Federal league, and we may anticipate her choice if we can count what it has been worth to her, and how large a moral and material treasure she must surrender, if she persists in pushing her aggressions to its overthrow.

We shall not dwell upon the revolutionary struggle, though it might easily be shown that the South bore more than her proportional share, both in its expenses and its battles. The white male population over 16 years of age in 1790 was about the same in Pennsylvania and Virginia; the former being 110,788, and the latter 110,931; yet according to General Knox's official estimate, presented to the 1st Congress, Virginia furnished 56,721 soldiers to the Revolution, and Pensylvania only 34,965. New Hampshire had a military population 513 larger than South Carolina; yet she contributed only 14,906 soldiers to South Carolina's 31,131—not half! The latter quota in fact is nearly equal to Pennsylvania's, who had triple the military population, and twice the whole population, free and slave. It exceeded New York's 29,836, though New York had much more than double the military population, and 10 per cent. more of total population. Connecticut and Massachusetts did more than any of the free States in that great war; yet we find that while South Carolina sent to its armies 37 out of every 12 citizens capable of bearing arms, Massachusetts sent but 32, Connecticut 30, and New Hampshire not 18† and it must be remembered that, as General Knox says, "in some years of the greatest exertions of the Southern States, there are no returns whatever of their militia," while at the North every man was entered on the rolls, as the pension list too plainly shows; that while the war assumed a regular character there, it was here brought home to every fire side, and there was scarcely a man who did not shoulder his musket, even though not regularly in the field. The slave States not only fought their own battles, nearly unaided, but sent numerous troops to the defence of the North; and when we consider that the free States had the protection of almost the whole regular army, and the benefit of its large disbursements, while the South was left to be scoured by the enemy, and that the almost utter ruin of the incomes and private fortunes of her citizens far exceeded any amount of taxation ever levied, we cannot doubt that her sufferings in the great cause were far heavier than those of the North. But we will not pause to consider any inequality of Revolutionary burdens, if the South bore more than her share, it was voluntary—a free-will offering on the altar of Independence. We will pass at once to consider the action of the Federal Government, and its value to the North when the South was no longer her own mistress.

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*These numbers are taken from the official report to the Senate in 1847.

†Mr. Jefferson says, that tobacco sold during the war for 5 or 6 shillings a hundred, would not pay the necessary expenses of cultivation. *Correspondence*, II. 19.

It has often been remarked, that our Union is capable of a peaceful extension over a wider dominion than any other form of government that the world has yet seen. This is due to the happy development of the Federal principle in our Constitution—the work, not so much of the wit of man, as of Divinely ordained circumstances. If we keep strictly within its limitations, the central power is confined to general legislation upon matters of common interest, and is so organized that it cannot be abused for purposes of sectional advantage, as long as the States are one in character and feeling. But no human institutions are safe from the selfishness of those who administer them, and were it possible for the Union to be divided into two sections of unequal power, with broad and growing opposition of character and social organization, it would be impossible to prevent the stronger section from plundering the weaker. This has happened in other States, between the different classes of society, and the design of every good constitution has been so to balance their powers as to make government the result of a compromise between their interests. But even if one class succeeds in establishing a permanent mastery over the other, the baneful effects of its plundering are alleviated by the expenditure of its fruits in the midst of the plundered. This is not the case where a federal government is perverted from its original equality; the tribute drawn from the weaker section enriches the stronger, and the larger the confederacy, and the more distant the tax-consumers from the tax payers, the greater is the injury to the latter. Such has been the relation of Ireland to England under the combined effects of taxation and absenteeism, and we all know her lamentable condition. Our Union was secured from these dangers, at its beginning, by the homogeneous character of the people. The differences of character in the descendents of the Pilgrims and the Cavaliers only combined to make a more perfect whole. A common ancestry and language were endeared by common associations of literature and of history. All brought with them, as the very frame work of their societies, the same noble old common law, and all restored its ancient Saxon spirit by clearing away its feudal encumbrances. The institution of negro slavery was foreign to none; the meddling spirit of a spurious philanthrophy had not yet dared to attack what it did not understand. Taxation would naturally fall more equally, as there was comparatively little difference in the interests of the people of the several States. American cotton, which has worked, and is working, such a revolution in the commerce of the world, was cultivated only as a curiosity. It was supposed that direct taxes would be the chief source of revenue, and the Constitution secured an equality in their imposition; but it was soon found that customs duties, so much more convenient in many respects, would be sufficient in time of peace.

There was, nevertheless, even in those days, one striking difference in the interests of the sections; the navigating interest was almost as exclusively Northern, as tobacco and rice were Southern. Heaven had favored the South with a more fertile soil and a more genial climate, and it was the duty of Government to protect her in the uninterrupted enjoyment of all the advantages which her industry could derive from the Divine bounty. The larger profits of rice and tobacco planting withheld her people from less lucrative navigating enterprise, and they found an immense benefit in the cheap rates at which foreign vessels transported their productions to all the markets of the world; it was, in effect, so much added to their price. In the North, on the contrary, the profits of navigation were equal to the average returns of other employments, and this explains the fact stated by Pitkin, that in New England in 1770, 6-8ths of the tonnage was owned by natives; in New York and Pennsylvania, 3-8ths, while in each of the old plantation States, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the proportion of domestic tonnage was only 1-8th. The first effort of the North was, therefore, to levy heavy duties on foreign tonnage, and thus to raise freights, so as to repair the injustice of Providence, and lower Southern profits by increasing Northern. We have been recently told by good authority, (Mr. Clingman, in his speech on the 22d Jan.,) that Northern ship owners charge as much for freight between New York and New Orleans, as between New York and Canton, and that "the whole amount of freight on Southern production, received by the Northern ship owners, has, on a minute calculation, been set down at $40,186,728."* However this may be, the loss must have been very heavy, if we may judge from the warm opposition of the Southern members in the 1st Congress. The discriminating duties on tonnage were, however, voted through by Northern votes and combined with the paper and funding system, and some other measures, all carried by the same party, to change the whole course of our trade. An annual payment of some six millions of dollars on account of the public debt, and the ordinary expenditures of Government, were nearly all at the North, and created a strong current of exchange in that direction. The Southern planter was forced to send his produce to a Northern port, and thence export it, and after bringing the return cargo there to re-ship it home, for it was actually cheaper to pay the double freights and charges of such an operation, than to continue the direct trade—once so beneficial—under its new burdens. A few figures will give a juster idea of this revolution in commerce.

In the ten years just before the revolutionary troubles, 1760-'9, the Southern colonies, with a population of 1,200,000, exported produce to the value of $12,297,705; while the exports of

* See the article in the Dem. Rev., by Kettell, of N. Y., on "The Stability of the Union."

all New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, with a population of 1,300,000, were only $9,356,035, less than a fourth. Forty years later, 1821–'30, when the new system of legislation had had time to work, the actual exports of the same Southern States were but little more than half those of the same Northern States, that is 222 millions of dollars to 427. Yet, meantime, the culture of cotton had been introduced extensively, and the exports of that article alone, in the same period, amounted to over 256 millions of dollars, chiefly the produce (at that time) of Carolina and Georgia, to say nothing of 78 millions of tobacco and rice, the growth of the same States, with Virginia and Maryland—so completely was trade diverted from its natural channels! In 1760–'9 Carolina and Georgia exported twice as much in value as all New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. In 1821–'30, they were exceeded by New York alone. In the former period, Virginia and Maryland exported five times as much as New England, eight times as much as New York, and over thirteen and a half as much as times Pennsylvania. But in the latter period the scales were turned by the weight of Northern power, and while Virginia and Maryland exported 92 millions, New England exported 136, and New York 215, more than double. The registered tonnage of South Carolina from 1791 to 1837 actually diminished 50 per cent., and Virginia's 78 per cent., while New York's doubled and Massachusetts's trepled.* The North has thus obtained the use of an immense amount of Southern capital, and all its profits, causing an equal loss to the South. When we are considering the value of the Union, it may be as well to calculate what it has been worth in money to the North in its influence on our trade. We shall thus learn a part of what it may cost her to indulge, what is either an unworthy jealousy of our power and natural advantages, or a profitless and fanatical abstraction about negro slavery. Plain common sense and figures are a mighty stumbling block to your fine talkers about liberty and human rights, and our Northern allies will feel the peculiar fitness of such a test as dollars and cents. We confess, beforehand, that the estimate we shall present is much too low, for it is impossible to take into account all the ramified pecuniary advantages of the Union to the North and we have intentionally put everything at the *lowest* mark, so as to reach results which we confidently believe to be *certain*.

Everybody knows that all the exports of rice and of unmanufactured tobacco and cotton are the produce of Southern labor. As to the balance of the exports of domestic produce, we shall assume that the South contributes a share in proportion to her population. It is impossible to give the grounds of this assumption within our narrow limits, but a careful examination of the official statements, from the earliest times, has convinced us that it does not do the South full justice. Her naval stores, her breadstuffs, the material she furnishes for the exported manufactures, &c., amount to more than the share we have assigned her of the other domestic exports, besides rice, raw cotton, and leaf tobacco. We shall see, in the sequel, additional confirmation of this belief. But we adhere to our rule of using the *lowest* figures.

In the eleven years from 1790 to 1800 inclusive,† the exports of raw cotton, rice, and leaf tobacco, amounted to ninety six millions, (we use round numbers,) out of three hundred and eleven millions of dollars. Of the balance, the South produced one hundred and four millions, the North 111. Therefore the exports of Southern produce were in all 200 millions, and of Northern 111 millions. The imports were bought with these exports—were, in fact, their price, and, as such, belonged to and ought to be divided amongst the producers of the exports in the ratio of their exportation. This gives 397 millions of dollars as the returns for Southern produce, and 218 for Northern. The whole produce of Southern labor in the foreign trade, both the exports and the imports paid in exchange, amounted to 597 millions, whilst Northern labor yielded 329. But during the same period the actual exports of domestic produce and imports in return from Southern ports were only 414 millions of dollars in value, and from Northern ports they reached 512 millions. The North, therefore, had the use and command of 182 and a half millions of the productions of Southern labor during this period, and the South lost the use of an equal amount; in other words, the North gained the use and the South lost the use of a little more, on an average, than 16½ millions of Southern capital every year from 1790 to 1800. Instead of remaining in the hands of the Southern planters, merchants, ship owners, or agents, importers, wholesale dealers, and retail dealers, building up Southern cities, and giving life and employment to hundreds of Southern people, this 16½ millions of dollars worth of the produce of their labor was transferred by the action of the Government to the North; and its annual use, without charge or equivalent, was given as a bounty to Northern labor to build up Northern wealth. But even this was not all, for we have taken no account of the exports of foreign produce. Yet the foreign goods thus exported were first bought either with domestic produce, or the credit founded on domestic produce. They were the legitimate appendage of the trade in domestic produce, and may be taken, in part, as an index of what the credit and command of that trade was worth—a value which was, of course, greater during the European wars than it has been since in time of peace. These exports ought,

*See the table of colonial trade, and of the trade of the several States since 1789, in Hazard's Register, vol. [illegible]

†See tables A 1, 2, 3, 4, at the end.

therefore, to be divided, like the imports, amongst the producers of domestic exports in the ratio of their production. The whole legitimate Southern trade would thus be swelled to 713 millions of dollars, and the Northern to 404; while the *actual* foreign trade was 466 and 651 millions respectively, making the gain to the North and the corresponding loss to the South of the use of a Southern capital averaging over 22 millions of dollars a year.

If we apply the same principles of calculation to the next ten years, from 1801 to 1810 inclusive, we find that the North had the use of 43 millions, or, counting the exports of foreign produce, of 53 millions a year of Southern capital, while the South, of course, lost the use of that amount of the produce of her yearly labor.

From 1811 to 1820, the war with England diminished the whole commerce of the country, especially the exports of foreign merchandise. During this period, the North had the use of 52 millions a year of the produce of Southern labor, or, deducting the foreign goods exported, of 45 millions. The South lost the use of the same amount.

In the decennial period, 1821-'30, this gain to the North and loss to the South amounted to 63 millions of dollars annually, or, if we add the exports of foreign produce, to 79 millions. In the next period, 1831-'40, the profit and loss amounts to the enormous sum of 93 millions per annum on the exports of domestic products and return imports, and 106 millions on the whole foreign commerce. Thus the South lost the use of the fourth part of the whole annual products of her industry, as estimated by Prof. Tucker, from the census of 1810; and the North had all that could be made by trading on this enormous share of the fruits of Southern slave labor. The value to the North of this trade, which properly belongs to the South, is still increasing, for in 1848 we find that the free States had the use of 120 millions of dollars worth of the produce of Southern labor for foreign commerce, or of 133 millions, if we add the exports of foreign merchandise. The slave States lost the use of this great capital, and the North gained it without paying any sort of equivalent in return.

To estimate the value of the Union to the North, in this regard, more palpably and justly, let us see what it has been worth to every family of six persons, in each decennial period, counting the population at an average between the census at the beginning and that at the end of each period. We place the results in a table:

	1790–1800.	1801–'10.	1811–'20.	1821–'30.	1831–'40.	1848.
Counting the exports of domestic produce only, and the imports paid in return, every northern family gained the gratuitous use, annually, of the profits of southern labor to the value of.....	$43.98	79.87	61.23	62.08	66.01	56.46
And to furnish this, every southern family was forced to part with the use, annually, of the produce of its own industry to the value of.....	45.36	84.34	68.36	72.99	84.77	80.76
Or, adding the exports of foreign goods, each northern family took from the South the use of..	57.84	98.58	70.46	77.69	75.91	63.00
And each slaveholding family had to give up to the North the use of its property to the amount of..	58.68	104.09	80.15	91.34	96.50	90.18

We are struck at the first view of these results with the much larger amount that the Southern family loses than the Northern gains. This may be due in part to the difference of population; but it also corresponds to the general law, that the plunderer never gains as much as the plundered loses. What is most alarming is the steady and recently the rapid increase in the relative benefit and damage to the people of the two sections. We find that every Southern family lost in the first period 4 per cent. more than the Northern family gained, by the monopoly of Southern trade; in the second period, 6.8 per cent. more; in the third, 11 per cent.; in the fourth, 17.5 per cent.; in the fifth, 19.3 per cent.; and finally, in 1848, as much as 43 per cent. more. This increase has obviously kept pace with the growth of the Northern political power from census to census.

While the free States has been such large gainers by the earnings of the slaveholders, diverted from the hands of the natural owners by the fiscal action of the Federal Government upon foreign commerce, they have profited in no smaller proportion in the adjustment of taxation. We cannot calculate the whole burden of indirect taxes, but we can reach results which are certainly under the relative amount really paid by the South. When duties are paid upon imports, they are indisputably paid by somebody—either by the consumer of the goods imported, or by the exporter of the domestic produce, with which those goods are purchased, and to whom they, in fact, belong, or partly by both. There can be no fourth supposition. When the planter, either directly or through the agency of merchants and factors, exports his tobacco, his cotton, rice, or breadstuffs, he receives payment in foreign goods, which he must bring back as imports; and

when he passes the custom house at home, he has to pay a part of these returns for duties. Thus far the tax falls entirely upon him; and if we stop here in our reasoning, it is plain that the duties are paid by the different sections in the exact ratio of the exports of their produce; for it does not matter that the producer may sell his tobacco, cotton, &c., to some merchant at home, who afterwards is the actual exporter. The price which that merchant can give plainly depends on what he can sell for again; and that depends upon the value of the imports he has to take in payment, after deducting all expenses and duties which must therefore come out of the planter at last, just as if he exported and imported directly. Nor can the producer escape the duties by taking in return for his exports money which he does not want, instead of the goods which he needs; for it would be asking an impossibility to demand nothing but specie in payment, when the exports of cotton alone are considerably more than the whole annual produce of gold and silver in the world. But the question here is, not what the producer *could* do, but what he *actually* did. The records show, that he was really paid for his exports in foreign goods, and that duties have been paid upon these to an amount over a billion of dollars; and this enormous sum the producer must have paid when he had to surrender a part of the value of his imports to Government as he entered them. There is but one way in which he could have escaped, and that is, by selling the part left for as much as the whole was worth before, and, by thus raising the price, throw the whole tax upon the consumer. But, in this case, the South must have paid a still greater share of the duties than before; for not only is she a much larger consumer of foreign merchandise than the North, but if the price of the imported articles is raised, so must be the price of the similar article of domestic manufacture. And the South would pay three or four times as much in this shape to the northern manufacturer, as she would to Government in the form of duties. It is true that the increased price of domestic goods would also be paid by the northern consumer, but with this important difference, that what was paid would be spent amongst themselves, and so, in a manner, returned to their pockets, as the factories are scattered through their country, while, to the South, it would be a dead loss. This view of the effect of duties has been pressed by the advocates of free trade, and rejected by their opponents, and as we wish to proceed upon undisputed principles, we shall adopt the other horn of the dilemma, and assume that the duties are paid by the producers, and the several sections, in the ratio of their produce exported. This course is also more agreeable to our determination to calculate southern burdens and northern profits at the lowest possible figures, for there can be no doubt that the other view of the incidence of duties would at least triple the sum paid by the South. At the same time it is proper to say, that in our belief the duties are paid partly by the producer and partly by the consumer; that, so far as the latter pays them, he pays three or four times as much more in the increased price of similar goods of domestic manufacture, and so far as the former pays them, he loses more, often vastly more, in the value of all that part of his produce sold at home, which must be lowered to the exact level of the value of what is sold abroad. Hence, the mere nominal amount of duties paid to the Federal Government is the least part of the real burden on the South, whether we consider her as a producer of the exports, or a consumer of the return imports. But we shall, nevertheless, confine ourselves to the very moderate principle of calculation we set out with, so as to say nothing that is not absolutely certain.

The whole amount of duties collected from the year 1791, to June 30, 1845, after deducting the drawbacks on foreign merchandize exported, was $927,050,097.* Of this sum the slaveholding States paid $711,200,000, and the free States only $215,850,097. Had the same amount been paid by the two sections in the constitutional ratio of their federal population, the South would have paid only $394,707,917, and the North $532,312,180. Therefore, the slaveholding States paid $316,492,083 more than their just share, and the free States as much less. They were FREE indeed!—not only of slaves, but of taxes! By carrying our calculation down to 1849, the sum of 316 millions is raised to 330 odd millions. In the following table we may see at a glance how this taxation fell on the respective population of the North and South in each decennial period:

Table of the taxes annually paid in duties to the Federal Government by a family of 6 persons.

In each year from	1791–1800	1801–10	1811–20	1821–30	1831–40	1841–5	1846–9
In the Slave States	$12,96	18,78	19 44	20 82	16 44	13 21	14 68
In the Free States	6,75	8 14	6 22	4 28	2 57	2 50	3 88
Difference	6 21	10 64	13 22	16 54	13 87	10 71	10 80

*See table I. at the end.

In the first period, the Southern family paid not quite twice as much to the support of the General Government as the Northern family of the same size; in the third, a little more than three times as much; in the fourth, near five times as much; and in the fifteen years, from 1831 to 1845, about six times as much!

In the only other branch of the public revenue of any size, the disproportion of Northern and Southern contributions has been still more enormous. We refer to the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, which amounted on January 1, 1849, to the round sum of 137 millions of dollars. Seventy nine of these millions came from the sale of lands in the old Northwest Territory, the free gift of Virginia for the sake of the Union, for which she has either asked nor received one cent. About 33 millions more were from the sales of lands in Alabama and Mississippi, north of latitude 31°, and within the cession by Georgia, making in all out of the 137 millions, 112 that were contributed by the slaveholding States. We may fairly add to this account 13 millions, the value of lands granted for various purposes to the Northwestern States within their limits, making a total of 125 millions given by Virginia and Georgia to the free States. But it may be said that if this sum had not gone into the federal treasury from lands, it must have been raised by direct taxation, and the Southern States would have paid their share. Well, deduct that share, which would have been 47 millions, and we still have left the very handsome gratuity of 78 millions, which the slave States, or rather Virginia and Georgia, gave the North in order to form the Union!

How have all these taxes been spent? Has the South received, in the disbursements of the Federal Government, any compensation for the very disproportionate share she contributed to its revenue? And first, as to the public lands.

Large quantities of these lands have been given for internal improvements to the States in which they lie, and such grants were, therefore, confined to the new or *land* States. It appears from a table, which we have carefully prepared from the latest official documents, that the new free States have received in this way 5,171,475 acres, worth at the actual average price of the public lands sold within their several boundaries, $7,581,899, while the new slave States have received only 3 millions of acres, worth $1,025,000; that is, there has been granted to the new free States 18.5 acres to every square mile of their surface, while the new slave States have had only 9.3 acres to the square mile. The disproportion is still greater in the older States, where the system has been longer at work. Thus Louisiana has received 10.8 acres, Alabama 9.8, and Missouri only 7.4, while Ohio has had 29.6, and Indiana 47.6, (nearly one thirteenth part,) to improve every square mile of their respective areas. The proportion will be somewhat diminished if we add the donations for schools which were made by virtue of a general law; but even then the free States have received 38.9 acres to the square mile, and the slave States only 27.7.*

We cannot trace all the expenditures of the Federal Government, so as to determine the exact amount in each section. There are no published documents to furnish the necessary data. But fortunately the distinction can be made in some branches of Federal disbursements, usually classed as miscellaneous, and from these we may judge of the rest.

A report of the Secretary of the Treasury, (460 Ex. Doc. 1837-8,) shows, that in the five years, 1833-7, out of 102 millions of expenditures, only 37 millions were in the slave States, Yet during the same years, our table shows that they paid 90 millions of duties to 17 and a half paid by the free States. Therefore, while all that the North contributed to the support of the Union was spent within her own borders, she enjoyed the additional expenditure of 53 millions, or $10,600,000 a year, levied on the South.

An examination of the Secretary's report will show that even this statement does not give a just idea of the inequality. A better notion may be formed by investigating in detail some branches of expenditure of which we have full accounts.

The collection of the customs revenue is a large and increasing item in the Federal expenses. It gives salaries to a great number of officers; at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia alone, there are 1123, and it is the indirect source of subsistence to six times as many persons. These expenditures have amounted in all, from the formation of the Government to the year 1849, to 53 millions of dollars, of which only 10 millions have been at the South. Yet the slave States have paid at least seven-ninths, or 41 millions of these expenses, so that the free States had the benefit for their citizens in custom-house offices, revenue cutters, &c., not only of their own payments, 12 millions, but of 31 millions paid by the South.

The bounties on pickled fish, and the allowances to fishing vessels, have amounted, in round numbers, to 10 millions of dollars. Nearly every cent of this large sum has gone to the free States, chiefly to New England. The records show that slaveholders have not received so much of it as $150,000. Yet these very slaveholders have paid of these bounties and charities to the North, no less than $7,800,000.

While $838.76 have been spent by the Federal Government in defending with forts each mile of the Northern coast line, from the river St. John's, in Maine, to Delaware bay, only $515.17

*Our calculations are founded on the Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office, 1848-'9.

per mile has been devoted to the Southern coast to the Sabine, up to June 30th, 1846, the latest period for which there are official returns. More than six elevenths of the expenditures on the Southern coast have been in fortifying the Chesapeake bay and the mouth of the Mississippi, that is, the access to the seat of Government, and the great outlet of northwestern commerce. It is fair, therefore, to deduct what was spent at these points, which leaves only $116.89 spent per mile in fortifications on the Atlantic coast of the slave States, from North Carolina to Mississippi inclusive. Yet while the South has not had half as much expended in her defence as the North, she has paid some 14 out of 18 millions of dollars devoted to these objects.—(See off. rep. to the Senate, 79 Senate Doc., 1846-'7.

The light-house system exhibits the same inequality. The appropriations for erecting light-houses for the year ending June 30, 1847, (see 27 Ex. Doc., 1847-'8,) were $60 01 for each mile of the Atlantic shore to the North, and $29.79, not quite half, for each mile of shore to the South, from Delaware to Texas! The difference is still greater, if we consider the whole coast line, including islands and rivers to the head of tide. The North had $29 62 to light every such mile, and the South $9.23, not one-third. The expense of supporting the existing light-houses in the same year, (see 7 Ex. Doc., 1847-'8,) on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, was $476,612. Of this, the South paid at least $360,000; yet she received only $187,830, equal to $26 70 per mile on her dangerous shore from the Delaware to the Rio Grande, or $8.28 per mile of her whole coast line. The balance, $172,170, of her payment went to assist the North, who spent but $116,612 of her own money in lighting her shore at a cost of $87 65 per mile, or including rivers and islands, of $43 27 per mile. In the year 1833, there was, (see 27 Ex. Doc., 1847-'8,)—

At the North	1	"	"	108.8	"	"	"	"	370.1	"	"
At the North	1	lamp	"	2 9	"	"	"	"	5 9	"	"
At the South	1	"	"	8.6	"	"	"	"	29.3	"	"

At the North 1 lighthouse to every 32.6 miles of Northern *shore*, and to every 66.1 miles of *coast*.

In 1839, there was, (see 140 Ex. Doc., 1841-'2,)—

At the North	1	"	"	81.2	"	"	"	"	276.4	"	"
At the North	1	lamp	"	2.4	"	"	"	"	4.9	"	"
At the South	1	"	"	6 8	"	"	"	"	23.4	"	"

Scarcely half as many lamps as the North had lighthouses! And yet at this time the South was paying five-sixths of the revenue. The proportions in other years are not materially different; we might multiply examples at pleasure. (See the annual reports.)

Another fruitful source of expense, which threatens to grow larger, is the internal improvement system, and, like all the rest, it bears with peculiar weight upon the South. Before the year 1845, (see 64 Sen Doc. 1846-7,) there had been spent upon roads, harbors, and rivers, (exclusive of the Mississippi and Ohio, which are common to both sections,) the sum of $15,201,234. Of this sum, the South received $451 to improve each ten miles square of her area, equal to $2,757,816, while $12,743,407, that is, $2,805 for each ten miles square was allotted to the North. The South paid not only all that she ever received back in these appropriations, but also $10,12,184 for the exclusive benefit of the North. The cost of the forty eight miles of the Cumberland road in Maryland and Virginia, $1,020,239, is included, for that road was designed for the Northwest. But if it is deducted, there are still left $9,141,915, paid by Southern labor for the internal improvements of the North.

The history of this system illustrates a rule to which history offers no exception, that a tribute grows with the strength of the collectors. Before 1824, the only appropriation of any considerable size for internal improvements was $607,000 for the Cumberland road, east of the Ohio river. About that time, the North became stronger by a new apportionment of representation, and the unfortunate concession on the Missouri question encouraged her to new encroachments upon the South. From 1824 to 1833 inclusive, the Federal Government gave for internal improvements to the free States $5,191,441, or $1115 per ten miles square, and to the slaveholding States only $957,100, or $157 per ten miles square. From 1831 to 1845 inclusive, the North received $7,231,639, or $1593 per ten miles square, and the South $1,141,500, or $192 for the same area. In the first period the North received from the treasury 7 2 times as much as the South, in the next period, 8.3 times as much. In the first period the South paid, over and above what was given back to her, $3,612,900 to improve the North, and $5,741,000 in the second period, an increase on the yearly average of 31 per cent.

The inequality was especially great amongst the old thirteen States.

New England received.....	$1,101,730,	equal to	$1715,	to improve every ten miles square.		
New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey received.....	5,226,350,	"	5231,	"	"	"
The old plantation States, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia	653,100,	"	320,	"	"	"

This needs no comment.

The Presidential veto has arrested these appropriations since 1845. Congress, however, passed bills, which gave still more to the North and still less to the South. The estimates from the Treasury Department this winter are of the same character, for which we impute no blame to the Administration; it well knows, that nothing more equal could receive the sanction of Congress, as now constituted.

The coast survey had cost not much less than a million of dollars in 1845, and had been almost entirely confined to the Northern coast, though the North had only 6,675 miles of coast line to the South's 21,021.

It is generally, and perhaps justly, supposed that the post office system works more equally between the sections than any other part of the Federal Administration. Yet, in 1846, the mails were transported 21,373,000 miles in the free States, or 47 miles to every square mile of their area, and only 16,025,000 miles, or 26 mile to each square mile, in the South. In 1817, there were 9,599 postmasters in the North, and only 5,664 in the South, though their population is as 97 to 73, and their areas (exclusive of Texas) as 45 to 61.* There is, in fact, a general disposition at the North to look to Federal expenditures as a means of support; and there is a constant press on the Administration to multiply offices. Hence the immense rush for removals and scramble for the spoils at the incoming of every new President, and the cardinal maxim of Northern party management—to govern by patronage and not by a reliance on principle. This maxim is utterly repugnant to Southern feeling and practice.

The pension system throws a strong light on the tendency of the people of the free States to quarter themselves on the General Government, at the same time that it shows the usual progressive inequality of expenditures between the two sections. A calculation, founded on data in 307 Sen. Doc., 1838-'9, shows that from 1791 to 1838 inclusive, $35,598,964 had been paid for revolutionary pensions, of which the North received $28,262,597, or $127.29 for every soldier she had in the war, and the South $7,336,367, being only $49.89 for each of her soldiers. The number of soldiers is here estimated according to Knox's report, which, confessedly, does not show by a great deal the full exertions of the South in raising troops. Let us then compare the amounts received with the white population of each section in 1790, and we find the free States in 1838 had received $14.35 of revolutionary pensions for every soul in their limits in the former year, while the South had received only $5.61 for every white. But the military efforts of the slaveholding States were fully in proportion to their whole population, for the labor of the slaves on the plantations left a much larger proportion of their masters free to take up arms. On this supposition, the Southern soldier received only $3.74 for the same revolutionary services which brought the Northern $14.35. This gross inequality remains the same by whatever test it is tried. For example:

The seven free States contributed to the expenses of the war†	$61,971,170
And had received in pensions, in 1838	28,262,597
Balance in their favor	$33,708,573
The six slave States contributed	$52,438,123
And had received, in 1838	7,336,367
Balance in their favor	$45,101,756

Now let us see how it stands with single States:

Virginia contributed	$19,085,982	ratio as $100
And received in pensions up to 1838	1,969,534	to 10.3.
Massachusetts contributed	17,964,613	ratio as $100
And received in the same time	4,058,031	to 22.8.
South Carolina contributed	11,523,299	ratio as $100
And received in the same time	431,141	to 3.5.
New York contributed	7,179,983	ratio as $100
And received in the same time	7,850,051	to 109.3.

To appreciate this injustice fully, we must remember that the South not only paid into the federal Treasury all she ever received back in pensions, but also $16,663,633 of the pensions given to the North. The inequality of the apportionment of these revolutionary pensions has grown with the Northern majority in Congress. In the first decennial period, 1791-1800, the free States received annually $58,000 more than the South. In the next period, this yearly excess was diminished to $43,000, but it rose to $339,000 in the third period. From 1821 to 1830 it averaged $799,000, and from 1831 to 1838, $855,000. In like manner grew the burden upon the

*See the annual reports.

†See the well-known report of the Commissioners to settle the State accounts.

South in paying the pensioners at the North, besides those at home. In the first period it was $417,449; in the second, $370,000; in the third, $3,000,000; in the fourth, $7,500,000; and in the last period, (of only 8 years,) $9,750,000.

According to General Knox's report, the North sent to the army 100 men for every 227 of military age in 1790, and the South 100 for every 209. But in 1848 1 out of every 62 of the men of military age in 1790 was a revolutionary pensioner in the North, and only 1 out of 110 in the South. New England alone then had 3,146 of these pensioners, more than there were in all the slave States, and New York two-thirds as many, though she contributed not one-seventh as much to the war.

The results are equally remarkable, if we have regard to the whole number of pensions, revolutionary and other. The expenses under this head for the four years ending in 1847,* were $8,010,051 in the free States, and $2,588,101 in the slave States, who not only paid their own share, but $6,300,000 to the North. New England alone received $3,924,911, rather more than $2 a head for every man, woman, and child in her limits. During the same four years she paid in taxes to the Federal Treasury, according to our tables, $1.91 per head, so that she actually received more in pensions than she paid in taxes! In 1840 there were not quite two and a half times as many pensioners at the North as the South, but in 1848 there were more than three times as many. New England had more revolutionary pensioners than the five old plantation States had pensioners of all kinds.

The public debt has been the source of yet more enormous benefits to the North. The payments on account of principal and interest had amounted in all, on the 30th of September, 1848,† to $500,138,719. Of this sum the South had paid 112 millions of dollars from the lands ceded by her, as before shown, and 302 millions of the residue in duties on imports, making in all 114 millions, nearly the whole of which was paid at the North. The chief owners of this debt have been citizens of that section, partly because the funds yielded a higher profit than investments in their lands—partly because they could advantageously speculate in stocks, by means of the free use of the large Southern capital, which, as we have shown, continually passed through their hands. The average payment of the Federal debt by the South to the North has been over 7 millions of dollars a year. Well may the North say that "a national debt is a public blessing!"

The heads of the Federal expenditures which we have examined give a fair notion of the rest; and it may be safely assumed, that while the South has paid seven-ninths of the taxes, the North has had seven-ninths of their disbursement. The military and naval expenses, the civil and diplomatic, are partly in salaries, but chiefly in contracts. As to the salaries, it is well known that the North receives much the most; and it is equally notorious that nearly all the contracts are given to her citizens. It may be supposed that they are the lowest bidders, and that if Southern bidders made better offers they would get the contracts. But before they can do so, they must be placed on an equal footing. The large capital which the South has in the foreign trade must be restored to the hands of her citizens, for it is the use of this capital, for which the Northern man pays nothing, and the concentration by the Federal fiscal action of all our commerce in his cities, that enable him to command all the lucrative contracts of Government.

We have no means of computing the exact number of persons at the North who live upon the Federal Treasury. Far the larger part of the custom-house and land officers, as well as of the other civil officers, are in the free States. If we add all these to the 20 odd thousand pensioners and postmasters, the contractors, and the holders of the public debt, we shall be safe in estimating the persons at the North, who are directly dependant on the Federal revenues, at 50,000.‡ Add their families, and we have an army of 300,000 tax consumers in the free States, nearly all supported by the slaveholding tax payers.

Let us now compare the present condition of a Northern and a Southern parish, each containing 100 families of six persons. In the former, we shall find that there are some three of its families who derive the whole or a part of their income directly from the United States Treasury, while there is no such family in the latter, if it be like the majority of the slaveholding communities of the same size. If the Northern parish happen to lie on the coast, every bay and inlet or creek has been carefully surveyed by the Federal Government, and lights shine every twenty odd miles along the shore, to protect its mariners. In the Southern parish the vessels must find their way through the shoals as they best can, for there has been no survey, and no warning fire on shore cheers the storm for hundreds of miles. The Union spends ten dollars in cutting roads and canals, clearing rivers, and constructing harbors in the Northern parish, where it spends one in the Southern. And to secure these benefits, the parish in the free States pays in taxes $1,488, and receives back in disbursements $1,360; while the same number of families in the slave States pay $1,050, and receive only $470. The excess of $1,350 goes to be distributed amongst the Northern parishes. This is not all, for the hundred families of the Southern neighborhood are deprived of the profits

*See 4th Ex. Doc., 1847–'8.

†See Treasury report, 1848–'9.

‡In 1840, the pensioners alone at the North were over 31,000.

of using over $8,000 of their own cotton, tobacco, grain, &c., in order to let the hundred Northern families use over $5,000 of it a whole year free of charge. When the two parishes join in war against a common foe, the Southern must send five times as many soldiers, and pay five times as much of the expenses; and yet when the contest is over, it must suffer its partner to seize all the conquests, and at the same time to kidnap its property and attack its domestic peace. Can insolence—can tyranny go farther? Or can history show a more degraded community than the Southern must be, if it submits?

When we regard this course of taxation and disbursement, we cease to wonder at the growth of the cities of the North, or the palaces that cover her comparatively barren soil. McCulloch remarks, that England's enormous expenditures during the great European war, in the beginning of this century, offered new employment and rewards to hundreds of her people, that the heavy taxes only served to stimulate their industry and invention, and that, as nearly all the public debt was due at home, it may well be doubted whether the whole effect was not to increase her wealth. However this may be, we can easily imagine how vast would have been her profits and prosperity, had these taxes all been paid by some foreign nation while she had the advantage of their disbursement, or how wretched and miserable would be her people, had the vast sums levied from them been expended for the benefit of strangers in far distant countries. Yet the first case is but a picture of the state of the North under our Union, as the last would be of the South, but for her great natural resources, and the recuperative energies of her people and her institutions. In this Government forcing system, the genial climate and luxuriant growth of the South are transported, beneath wintry skies, to the rocks of New England. The primal curse is partly obliterated for them by Federal agency, and the command is changed into "Thou shalt live by the sweat of the brow of the Southern slaveholder." The wages of Southern labor and the profits of Southern capital are swept northward by this current of Federal taxation and disbursement as steadily and more swiftly than the Gulf stream bears the waters of our shores. Well may the North declare that the Union is invaluable, and sing hymns to its perpetuity!

For all this crying injustice, the South has to blame her own weak concessions, as much as the grasping exactions of the North. The free States have only used their power for their own interest; and when has human nature ever been such, that a strong majority would do otherwise?

> "For why?—the good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That he should take who hath the power,
> And he should keep who can!"

Perhaps the free States may, like Clive, when confessing the plunder of the East, marvel at its facility, and "stand astonished at their own moderation." The white population of the South has kept pure the blood of their revolutionary fathers. The few emigrants who have settled in the South have been quickly assimilated in character by the superior numbers of her people, and have thus added to her strength. Not so in the free States; their population has increased faster than at the South; but the difference is entirely due to the emigrants of Europe, who are rapidly increasing in number. In 1840 the arrivals were under 100,000 and last year over 400,000 sought our shores, which number is greater than the whole natural increase of the people of the North. The tide cannot stop at this point. Mr. Webster has proposed, and his proposal is approved by all who are eager to court the foreign vote, to give a quarter section of the public lands to every foreigner who may choose to settle on them. What countless swarms of needy adventurers will pour out of the great European hive to accept the bounty! The free States can no longer assimilate such crowds to their natives; the superior numbers will overpower and change the native character. And it is for these strangers, to provide lands to be given away to all nations of the earth, that the citizens of the South are to be excluded from the common domain! The old likeness of interests, of character, and of feeling between the sections is fast wearing away under these influences. The free States are filled more and more with a manufacturing and town population; the slave States preserve the old country character. The people of the former are losing the Revolutionary associations which were one of the bonds of our union. If some still trace back to fathers who fought side by side with the ancestors of the Southern people at Monmouth and at Eutaw, a still greater number can remember no such past; their sires were then in other lands, or perchance were here, but in the ranks of the foe. There is no sympathy, no common feeling among these people, to weigh against the deep-seated and growing hostility to the institutions of the slave States. Negro slavery, on the one hand, and what Alison calls, "the practical white slavery of factories" on the other, combine with these causes to make a yawning and ever widening gulf between the sections. Even constitutional guaranties are but parchment bulwarks against the assaults of selfish and superior power. When the parties are separated by widely variant social institutions, and by a growing opposition of character, sentiments, and interests, there can be no security for the weaker, short of a perfect equality in political power, and on that the South must insist, as wise old George Mason, one of Virginia's brightest lights, said:

"The *majority* will be governed by their interests. The Southern States are the *minority* in both Houses. Is it to be expected that they will deliver themselves, bound hand and foot, to the Eastern States, and enable them to exclaim in the words of Cromwell, on a certain occasion, 'the Lord hath delivered them into our hands.'"

To determine still more conclusively whether the North will persist in refusing this equality to the South, when she finds that the consequence must be a dissolution of the Union, let us examine the effects of such an unhappy event upon her condition. In the first place, she would lose all the advantages she now derives from the gratuitous and forced loan of the Southern capital in the foreign trade, and instead of receiving the fertilizing showers of the federal disbursements of the taxes paid by the slave States, the whole expenses of her Government would be thrown upon her own people. Last year, her productions for exportation were only $32,210,000, and her corresponding share of the imports, including specie, not quite 36 millions. How would it be possible to raise on these imports, duties to the amount of 29 millions—her share of the expenses of the Federal Government, as estimated by Mr. Meredith for the next fiscal year? An average duty of even 50 per cent. would raise only 18 millions, supposing the imports to remain the same, when, in fact, they could not fail to decline under such a burden. Direct taxes, ruinous to her manufactures, and still more dangerous for her social organization, would be the inevitable resort. Compare this with the federal taxes she has paid under the present Union for the last nine years, averaging less than 6 millions of dollars a year. She could not assist her finances by imposing duties on her imports from the South, for they consist chiefly of unmanufactured produce, which is essential to her people. How could she tax the Virginia grain, which feeds New England, or the cotton on which her factories depend for their very existence? There is reason to suppose that her difficulties would be increased by an actual decline in her foreign trade. The only increase in her exports for many years has been in manufactures and breadstuffs. The former were rather over 11 millions of dollars in 1849, chiefly cotton goods. Of these the South furnishes the raw material, estimated by McCulloch, as well as by the Secretary of the Treasury, at one-fourth of the whole value, to say nothing of the food for the operatives, which has been calculated by Mr. Webster and others at a large sum, and for which the necessities of Northern industry would still secure admittance into their ports free of duty. But if the North, instead of receiving a large bonus through the Federal Government from the South, had to pay the expenses of her own Union, her manufactures could not stand English competition for a day. Even the South, if her people found it profitable to manufacture, would have a great advantage in the lightness of taxation. The North, for example, has hitherto conducted a very lucrative trade with China, to whom she sells about a million of dollars worth of cotton goods, but when the price of her manufactures was raised by taxation, and the return cargoes subjected to the tax necessary to raise her required revenue, what would become of this trade? Her goods would no longer enter the Southern market, not only free of duty but with a discriminating duty of 30 to 50 per cent. to protect them against foreign competition. On the contrary, they would have to meet the manufactures of the world on terms of perfect equality, perhaps even with a discrimination against them, unless she preserved the comity of nations as to our slave institutions. The Northern exports of manufactures, so far from increasing, would probably decline, if the Union were dissolved. They can barely sustain the competition of their rivals with all their present advantages; not only withdraw these, but increase their cost by taxation, and they must sink beneath the burden.

Nor is it possible that the free States, despite the fables about the Northwest, can long have any surplus of breadstuffs and provisions for exportation. We find that, according to the estimate of crops and population in the Patent Office Report for 1848, and assuming, with the Commissioner, the increase of neat cattle and swine since 1840 at 25 per cent., that the production of grain (wheat and corn) at the South was 45 97 bushels for every person, while at the North it was only 24.78. The census of 1840 gave 28.74 bushels per head at the South, and 18.48 at the North, which is probably more reliable. In 1840 there were 104 neat cattle and 226 hogs for every 100 persons at the South, which were increased to 107 cattle and 232 hogs in 1848. At the North there were 76 neat cattle in 1840, and only 72 for every 100 persons; while of swine, in the former year, there were 101, and in the latter only 96 for the same number of persons.

These statistics show, not only what has been pointed out by other inquiries, that the subsistence of the Northern laborer is much lower than of the Southern, but that it is declining, especially in animal food, which is always the first sign that population begins to press upon the means of subsistence. Other facts are equally conclusive, that the bulk of the surplus breadstuffs and provisions must be at the South, and that the North will soon find it as much as she can do to feed her own population well. The average crop of wheat in Virginia and Maryland is 10 bushels for every person of their population; in Tennessee 9, and in Kentucky 7½. But in New York it is only 5½ bushels; in Pennsylvania 6, and even in the new States, Indiana, with 8½ bushels, does not equal Tennessee or old Virginia; and Illinois produces under 7 bushels for each person. Ohio reaches 10½ bushels, but her Board of Agriculture says that she has attained her maximum, except at an increased cost of production. The future prospects for the wheat crop in the free

States are still worse. New England has actually declined in her food crops of all kinds.* We are told, on good authority, that western New York, once celebrated for the crops on the Genessee, produces less wheat than formerly;† and Mr. Solon Robinson, a most competent judge, and himself an Indiana man, says "wheat is the most precarious crop in the West, and altogther unsafe for the farmer to rely on. I consider Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia the best wheat States in the Union. I saw one thousand acres of wheat in Virginia last season better than any one thousand I ever saw in the West." This agrees with the results of chemical analysis, which shows that most of the Northwestern soils, when their virgin qualities are exhausted, are destitute of some of the most essential elements of wheat ‡

This gradual but sure decline in the returns of agriculture in the free States is one cause of the increasing tendency of their population to desert the country and concentrate in towns and factories. In some of those States the only increase, according to the last census, was in the towns. In New York, the population of the fourteen largest towns increased 64½ per cent; in all the rest of the State, only 19 per cent. In Ohio, the fifteen largest towns increased 138 per cent.; the State but 62 per cent. According to Prof. Tucker, at the last census, 35 per cent. of the whole New England population lived in towns. The proportion of persons engaged in manufactures had increased from 21 per cent in 1820 to 30 per cent. in 1840; in the middle States the increase had been from 22 to 28 per cent.; and even in the Northwest from 10 to 13 per cent. It has been yet more rapid since. Meantime the proportion engaged in agriculture had declined; the reverse was the case in the slaveholding States. It appears, therefore, that it is impossible for the North long to have any surplus of food for exportation, whether we regard the capacities of her soil or the proportion of her people engaged in tilling it. The crops cannot keep pace with the natural increase of population, and much less with the still greater increase from European emigration. There is yet another cause to prevent Northern grain from being exported, while Southern can be bought. The quality of wheat and the quantity of bread it will make depend upon its dryness and the proportion of nutritive matter or gluten contained in it. Its dryness is all important in determining whether it will bear a voyage. According to the analysis of Prof. Beck, of Rutger's College, N. J., (in the Patent Office Report, 1849,) Southern wheat has several per cent less water than Northern, and as much more of gluten. So great is the difference, that it is said that Alabama wheat flour will make 20 per cent. more bread than Ohio. This, of itself, will give a more and more decided advantage to Southern breadstuffs in the foreign market. §

The general conclusion is therefore unavoidable, that the North cannot long continue to export breadstuffs and provisions, and that the general amount of her productions for exportations, including her manufactures, would greatly decline under a dissolution of the Union. Her main reliance for revenue would therefore be on direct taxation, and how this would affect her social condition we shall presently see.

Meantime the situation of the slave States would be very different. The exports of cotton, rice, and tobacco for the year ending June 30th, 1849, were about 75 millions of dollars. Add the Southern share of the rest of the domestic exports, and it makes the whole exports of the produce of the slave States not less than 100 millions of dollars. Their proportional share of the imports paid for this produce was 112 millions, and the low duty of 10 per cent. on these would yield to the South a revenue of more than 11 millions, ample for every purpose. Her proportional share (of Mr. Meredith's estimates, before referred to) is only 15 millions, and her expenditures would be much less for her population than the North's. Her territory is more compact, and her people are unaccustomed to look to Government for the means of living. All the ordinary expenditures of the United States in 1830, with a third more population than the South now has, were but 13 millions. We have placed her revenue at the lowest, for the increase in the value of the exports of cotton alone in the present year will probably be 40 millions, if we may judge from the returns thus far. If we add the rice, tobacco, grain, and cotton sold to the North, 30 millions more, we have a total of 170 millions of exports, and the return imports may be fairly put down at 200 millions, on which the same low duty would yield to the South a revenue of 20 millions of dollars! It is very plain that the South could have no difficulties in her finances. Meantime her trade would revive and grow, like a field of young corn, when the long expected showers descend after a withering drought. The South now loses the use of some 130 or 140 millions a year of her capital, and also pays to the Federal Government at least 26 millions of taxes, 23 of which are spent beyond her borders. This great stream of taxation continually bears the wealth of the South far away on its waves, and small indeed is the portion which ever returns in refreshing clouds to replenish its sources. Turn it back to its natural channel, and the South will be relieved of 15

*See Ellwood Fisher's "North and South."

†See Patent Office Report for 1848, p. 247.

‡See an excellent essay on the wheat crop, by Mr. Holcomb, of Del., in the Am. Farmer.

§By a comparison of the table of prices in New York and Chicago, with the reports of farmers in the Patent Office Report, we find that it already costs the Northwestern farmer, on an average, $1 to raise a bushel of wheat and place it in New York, and 75 cents for a bushel of corn. The least increase in the cost of production would drive him from the market.

millions of taxes—to be left where they can be most wisely expended, in the hands of the payers; and the other 11 millions will furnish salaries to her people and encouragement to her labor. Restore to her the use of the 130 or 140 millions a year of her produce for the foreign trade, and all her ports will throng with business. Norfolk and Charleston and Savannah, so long pointed at by the North as a proof of the pretended evils of slavery, will be crowded with shipping, and their warehouses crammed with merchandise. The use and command of this large capital would cut canals; it would build roads and tunnel mountains, and drive the iron horse through the remotest valleys, till "the desert should blossom like the rose."

A remarkable difference between the Northern and Southern section is, that while the latter is complete in herself, both in the resources of wealth and the means of communication with the world, the former is strikingly the reverse. We have already shown that the slaveholding States produce nearly twice as much food for their population as the free States, and are still increasing in quantity, both of bread and meat, for each person. It is notorious that the Eastern States have long been in the habit of drawing large supplies of grain from the Chesapeake and from North Carolina. With the tendency of Northern population to gather in towns and factories, and the increasing tide of foreign immigration, the time cannot be very far distant when the free States, as a whole, will be dependent on the South for a part of their food. The progress of population must soon force a resort to inferior soils for cultivation, and so raise the cost of production. On the other hand, such a day is far, far distant in the South. Her numbers receive no unnatural increase from immigration, but the adjustment of population to food is left to the eternal laws of nature. Her inhabitants are not so densely settled, and have therefore more land to cultivate. The soil is more fertile, and the superiority of climate is almost equal to as much more of natural fertility. It may, therefore, be concluded, that her people will continue to have a large surplus of food for exportation, after themselves consuming more per head than the people of the free States raise. And this, without counting upon the rice, with which they supply the whole United States, besides exporting several millions of dollars worth

But if such is the comparative condition of the two sections as to the great staff of life, how is it in regard to other articles, which add to our comfort, and minister to the higher wants of a refined civilization?

The Patent Office Report (for 1847, p. 181) estimates the consumption of sugar in the United States at 320 millions of pounds annually, which agrees very well with the returns of imports retained for consumption, and the amount of the Louisiana crop. This allows 16 or 17 pounds for every person, black and white, in the country, and makes the consumption at the South not quite 147 millions of pounds. But the Louisiana crop has averaged 200 millions of pounds for the last four years, which would not only supply the Southern demand, but leave a surplus for exportation of 53 millions of pounds, worth $2,650,000. This is besides 10 millions of gallons of molasses, which will pay all the expenses of cultivation. We may add, that the culture of sugar is fast extending at the South. There are large districts in western Louisiana and Texas, and in the peninsula of Florida, where it may be raised to any amount as cheaply as in Cuba. Nothing is wanting but capital to open them and erect the necessary machinery. In the event of a dissolution of the present Union, this would be easily supplied from the 15 millions of taxes saved, and the 140 millions of Southern produce restored to our use. On the other hand the North is entirely dependent on the South and other countries for 173 millions of pounds of sugar, worth $8,650,000.

Tobacco is another great staple of the trade of the world. Nearly the whole production (220 millions of pounds) of the United States, is in the South; that is, 210 millions of pounds, worth, at 5 cents, 10½ millions of dollars. Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, alone, produce 89 millions, and the quality of their tobacco is acknowledged to be superior to any in the world. The South can supply the whole annual consumption of England and France, 49 millions, and still have 27 pounds left for every soul, slave and free, of her people of both sexes above 10 years of age. It would cost the North $8,756,000 for the 175 millions of pounds required to furnish her population as abundantly. This great staple has become almost a necessary of life, and we may expect a steady increase in the demand for it, while slave labor, and certain peculiarities of soil and climate, give the South a monopoly of the supply of the higher qualities. But the chief crop of the South is yet to be considered; we, of course, mean cotton

The exports of this one article have some years been over two thirds of the whole domestic exports of the United States. Last year they were more than half—over 66 millions of dollars. The price this year averages 73 per cent higher, as calculated from the actual returns, so that the exports, though less in quantity from the short crop, must be considerably greater in value. The crop has increased 25 per cent. since 1840, but the foreign demand, as shown by the exports, has increased still faster, that is, 33 per cent. The average crop is now 2,700,000 bales, and all the rest of the world cannot sell 500,000 bales. In Great Britain, 4 millions of persons live by the manufacture of cotton, 2 millions more in Europe and 1 million in the free States—in all 7 millions of people, whose daily bread is diminished or increased by the supply of cotton from the

slave States. England has imported annually for the last five years, from countries other than the United States, 322,861 bales, which is 60,000 less than the average of the preceding five years. The imports from India, which, it was pretended at one time, would ruin our market, have declined from 274,000 bales in 1841, to 260,000 in 1849. Egypt supplied more than 80,000 bales in 1845, and now does not send a third of that quantity. The Southern States are the only part of the world where the growth of cotton is extending, and here the average increase of the crop is not over 80,000 bales a year. So great has been the decline of the cotton crop in other countries, that the English supply from all quarters, available for home consumption, including our slave States, "has of late years fallen off at the rate of 1000 bales a week, while our (the English) consumption has been increasing during the same period at the rate of 3,600 bales a week."* These facts, taken from the highest authority, offer the brightest prospect to the cotton planter. It appears that the English demand is outrunning the supply at the rate of 239,000 bales per annum, more than 13 per cent. on the present consumption The slave States have not only to meet this increasing demand, but also to supply the growing consumption at home, in the Northern States, and in continental Europe, which already uses 1 million of bales. It is hard to overrate the possible, and even probable future demands of the market, if we consider the thousands of persons in Germany and Russia, who still use manufactures of flax, and who must ultimately adopt the cheaper fabrics of cotton. The result must be a large increase of price, of which we already see the signs, for it is erroneous to attribute the present rise only to the short crop. The increase will be permanent, for it will be secured by our monopoly of the production. In ordinary articles, when the demand outruns the supply, the very rise of price, which is the consequence, draws new capital and labor to the production, until the old relation of the supply to the demand is restored. The price of an ordinary article cannot therefore be permanently raised beyond the cost of production, including the average profits of industry for the producer. But in regard to cotton, the case is very different. It is admitted that no other country can produce it of the best quality, and experience has abundantly proved, that neither cotton nor sugar, (we may add tobacco and coffee,) can be profitably raised on a large scale without slave labor. The cotton crop must therefore keep pace with our slave population, which already raises all it can pick ; and we accordingly find that the average rate of increase of both is just the same, a little over 3 per cent. a year. It is therefore impossible to increase the supply by a new influx of producers, as in common cases, and as the demand is increasing about 13 per cent. a year, the price must continue to rise, until its very rise checks the consumption. These facts promise an almost unbounded prosperity to the cotton planter, which will extend to all their fellow-citizens in the same happy confederacy. A vast Southern market will be opened for grain, sugar, tobacco, provisions, manufactures, and produce of every description. When this demand is added to the existing wants of other countries, the profits of the Virginia and Maryland planter will equal those of their more Southern brethren, and the slave-holding States, freed from a heavy burden of taxation, and relieved from the unnatural diversion of their trade, would be the garden spot of the world. The exports of cotton to the free States and the other countries, cannot be less, in a few years, than 140 millions of dollars in value ; (we venture to predict that, even in the present state of things, the exports of cotton to foreign countries will reach 80 millions this year, besides 500,000 bales, worth $23,750,000, kept at home.) All this would form the aliment of a higher system of civilization than the world has ever yet known.

We shall say nothing of the mineral resources of the South, which are unsurpassed ; of her gold, her copper, and her lead ; of her mines of salt and of iron, and her vast fields of coal ; we shall pass over her numerous agricultural productions and fruits, many almost spontaneous. We might speak of the vine, which can be cultivated not only along the Ohio, but to still greater advantage in the more Southern latitudes of Carolina, Alabama, and Texas. Nor shall we mention coffee, which it is tolerably certain might be raised with profit in the south of Florida, for the future annexation of Cuba would give us abundant supplies. The interesting experiments of Dr. Smith, in South Carolina, may perhaps make us independent of China for tea, and even enable us to compete with her in other markets ; while climate and social institutions will always forbid its cultivation north of Mason's and Dixon's line. We will pass at once to the consideration of the means of placing our productions in market.

A large extent of sea coast not only improves the climate, but greatly increases the facilities for commerce. This was one of the chief physical causes of the early prosperity of the nations on the Mediterranean, especially in the peninsula of Italy and Greece, and it has been no small element of England's power. The Southern States are eminently favored in this way. Their coast line on the Atlantic and the Gulf is 7,033 miles,† while the Northern States have only 3,295. But to appreciate the full advantage of the South, we must include the islands and rivers,

*The London Economist. This result is, of course, obtained by considering the stocks on hand in each year

†See Report of the Supt. of the Coast Survey in Treasury Report, 1849.

to the head of tide-water, which make her whole navigable coast-line, 22,701 miles, while the Northern is but 6,675. The very compact shape of the Southern States make this great line of navigation available to nearly the whole country, while the reverse is the case at the North. The slaveholding States have an equal superiority in the extent of steam navigation on the western rivers. The 1,000 miles of the Ohio may be considered common to the two sections, and so may the 2,000 miles of the Mississippi, though 1,230 of these lie exclusively in the South, while some 300 more divide Missouri from Illinois, and little over 400 are wholly in the free States. There are 2,655 miles of steam navigation on the Missouri and its tributaries, the most valuable part of which lies in a slave State, and as the whole debouches at St. Louis, that city commands all its commerce. On the other tributaries of the great "Father of waters," as well as of the Ohio, there are 5,029 miles of steam navigation in the slave States, and only 2,300 in the free States. The whole commerce of the valley of the Mississippi, to which the greater part of the Northwestern States belongs, is naturally dependent on the South for an outlet, which the South would probably find it to her interest to permit the free States to use. There is a natural equity in the free navigation of rivers by all the riparian powers, which was acknowledged in the treaty of Vienna, and applied to the Rhine and Danube, as a great principle of European national law. The cities and countries at the outlets of such streams, gain the commercial command of all the country above, and, in case of war, a great military power. A large portion of the commerce of the free States in the interior northwest must always go to enrich New Orleans. The other part has to find its way to the sea board by canals and railroads, at a cost of 4 per cent in tolls, while a fourth part, probably of Northern commerce has too pass through Southern States. There is no part of the South thus dependent on the North.

It is true, that federal legislation has made a roundabout voyage by New York shorter for Southern trade than the straight course to Europe, but there is no part of the slave States whose natural port is not at home. Two great lines of railroad will soon connect the Chesapeake bay with the valley of the Ohio and the Lakes. A third line will stretch through the southwest to Memphis, on the Mississippi, while a fourth will form a continuous line parallel to the coast from Baltimore and Richmond, through Columbia and Atlanta, to Natchez, with numerous lateral feeders from the Piedmont vallies. Western commerce can reach the Atlantic by these Southern lines more quickly than by the Northern, and without any interruption from ice and snow in winter. They will concentrate a vast trade at Norfolk, Charleston, and Savannah. Nothing is wanting but the capital to complete their improvements, which the restoration of our natural commerce would at once supply. The same causes which have substituted steam for sails in inland navigation—the need for greater speed and certainty in the returns—will complete the change on the ocean, and give steamships the preference for commerce as well as passengers. We find that the custom-house returns show that the proportion of the imports into Boston, brought in steamers, is rapidly increasing. Swift steam-vessels are now building in England to be employed in the foreign grain train trade.*

This change must be of great advantage to Norfolk and Charleston, for the calms which make Southern latitudes unfavorable for a sail voyage to Europe, will make them so much the better for steam. The trade in Indian corn and Southern wheat (which, as we have seen, is drier, more nutritious, and better fitted for exportation than the Northern) will be greatly augmented. The mouth of the Chesapeake is naturally a better position for a great city than the mouth of the Hudson. That beautiful bay, having all the advantages of a sea, without its storms, has 4,010 miles of tidewater shores, of which 2,373 miles are in navigable rivers—more than double the number in the States north of it. This noble system of rivers and bays may be said to be free from ice all the year, and waters one of the most highly favored countries in the world, both in the temperate climate, the rich and easily improved soil, and the variety of its productions. Add to this all the country that may be more readily connected by artificial communications with this point than any other, and there is no site on the Atlantic coast which should naturally command a larger commerce than Norfolk. We have explained the causes which have prevented the development of these resources, but once remove the burdens, and restore Southern capital to its producers, and the shipping of New York would soon whiten Hampton Roads, and her palaces embellish the shores of the Chesapeake. Charleston is connected with the same lines of railroad, and the cotton trade gives her equal or superior advantages. Mobile awaits but the loosening of her shackles to stretch an iron road to the Ohio; and who can predict the greatness of New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi valley, with its area of a million of square miles, its steam navigation of 16,674 miles, and its commerce, already valued at $200,000,000? What a position for that which has ever been the most lucrative commerce of the world—the exchange of the productions of temperate and highly civilized countries for the growth of tropical climates and less advanced societies! The Gulf of Mexico would be commanded by the slave States, and they would want nothing but Cuba to make it a Southern Lake. How long

* Blackwood's Magazine, January, 1850.

would they want that? Peaceable annexation would at once follow its independence of Spain, and that could not be delayed long after the separation of the North and the South. There is no just reason why England should desire to prevent its annexation now; and, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, it would be her interest to strengthen us, and she would be bound to the Southern alliance by natural ties, and would have natural causes of hostility to the North. The dependence of four millions of her people on the South for cotton, and of many more for food, would give the slave States a powerful hold upon the good will of her Government—a hold that would strengthen with every year. No such ties would bind England to the free States. Producers of the same articles, and rivals in manufacturing industry, their commerce would be small and their interests adverse. This hostile feeling would be aggravated by a desire to possess Canada on the one hand, and a jealousy of its loss on the other. In any actual contest of arms the North would be particularly weak. Our Engineer department says that "It must be admitted that the British possess the military command of Lake Ontario."* This would facilitate the execution of the fine strategic design which they failed to accomplish in the Revolution—to hold the line of the Hudson, and isolate New England from the other States. The Welland canal gives England the power of throwing vast supplies of every kind from Lake Ontario, where she has the command of the upper Lakes, and thus cutting off the western commerce from New York. It also places her in a position to strike at the line uniting the Eastern and Western free States, which offers peculiar advantages to a foe from either the North or the South. From Lake Erie to Pittsburg is little over one hundred miles, and might easily be held by an enemy, who had resources either on the Lakes, or in Maryland and Virginia. The Northern States might be thus completely sundered. The Northwestern States, commercially, belong rather to the South than the North, and their connection with the Eastern States would not be very strong. Events may easily be imagined which would separate a Northern Confederacy into two parts, the one leaning towards the South, and the other relying on a Canadian connection; and, in estimating the relative capacity of such a confederacy for war, we must remember that the States which compose it now owe one hundred and ten millions of dollars, while the Southern States owe only sixty millions.

When we consider all these facts, can we doubt that the free States will acknowledge the equality of the South, rather than return to their natural poverty and weakness by dissolving the Union?—that Union to which we of the South are so devotedly attached, and to whose preservation we are willing to sacrifice everything but our honor.

We have seen that the North possesses none of the material elements of greatness, in which the South abounds, whether we regard the productions of the soil, the access to the markets of the world, or the capacity of military defence. While the slave States produce nearly everything within themselves, the free States will soon depend on them even for food, as they now do for rice, sugar, tobacco, and cotton—the employment of their ships in Southern commerce, the employment of their labor in the manufacture of Southern cotton, and all that they can purchase of other countries with the fabrics of that great Southern staple. We have shown that the price of that staple must be permanently raised; how would the manufacturing industry of the free States stand this rise, if their taxes were raised by a dissolution of the Union, and how would their laborers subsist under this new burden, if they at once lost the employment afforded by the free use of one hundred and forty millions of Southern capital, and the disbursement of twenty millions of Southern taxes? The answer to this question will bring us to the last view we shall present of our subject, and will show that the Union has, in truth, inestimable worth for the North. It defies all the powers of figures to calculate the value to the free States of the conservative influence of the South upon their social organization.

The great sore of modern society is the war between capital and labor. The fruits of any enterprise of industry have to repay all the wages of the labor employed in it, and the remainder is the profit of capital. Every man knows that the profit he can make on any undertaking depends upon the expenses, and that the chief part of these is the hire of the necessary labor. The cheaper he can get that, the more clear gain is left him. It is obvious, upon this statement, that the lower the wages, the higher are the profits, and it is the interest of capital to reduce them to the lowest point, as it is of labor to reduce the profits. Free competition is continually bringing down the prices of the productions of industry, and the capitalist has to meet this effect by lessening the cost of production, and to lower the wages is one of the readiest ways to accomplish this end. It is true, that the laws of nature, if left uninterrupted, will adjust the shares of wages and profits in a certain ratio to each other, and in a young and flourishing country, where every addition to the stock of capital and labor employed is attended by a proportional or greater increase of the gross returns, these shares will continue the same, or even increase.

In such a case, the natural opposition of interest between the laborer and capitalist is not felt; but the moment any cause interrupts the operation of these natural laws, or diminishes the pro-

* 19 Ex. Doc. 1847-8, p. 50.

ductiveness of the new labor annually brought into action, one or both must diminish, for the whole returns to be divided are less in proportion to the number of those who are to receive. Each will try to get the most he can, and throw the whole loss upon the other; and in this strife capital has an immense advantage. It can easily be transferred from less to more profitable employments, and from countries where its rewards are low to those where they are high. We have seen an example of this operation in the steady flow of capital from Europe to this country. Labor has no such facility; no freight is so costly as that of man. Poverty and ignorance combine with local affections and habits to tie the laborer to his native district, and even to the employment to which he has been trained. Emigration is the exception, not the rule; it is only for the comparatively well off—those who have something—not for the countless crowd of poor who live by their daily toil. Hence the supply of labor remains steady, while the demand—that is, the supply of capital—is readily reduced, and profits are easily increased at the expense of wages. The same result is produced by other yet more inevitable causes; the very diminution of the returns of industry retards the rate at which capital can accumulate. Meantime population continues to increase at its former rate, and with it the supply of labor, for the fall in wages, which must follow, cannot check the increase of population, except by pinching them with the want of subsistence; but it is a slow and uncertain check, even in that way. It will have no such effect where the population is content to live upon an inferior kind of food—upon potatoes instead of corn, as has been the case in Ireland, and even in the Eastern free States. No people breed faster than these potatoe eaters. The necessary fall in wages then goes on with accelerated velocity, as population outruns capital in its increase, and begins to press upon the means of subsistence. The result is before us in the starving laborers of Europe, when the wages of a week's labor, for 14 hours a day, are often only 36 cents a week! In 1842, in Manchester, 2,000 families, 8,136 persons, were reduced to this standard of subsistence; and in other years their condition has been still worse! We have before alluded to the signs, that the North is not very far distant from this pressure of population upon the means of living, which she is obliged ultimately to reach. Statistics show a gradual but certain decline in the wages of labor in the older parts of the free States. The destitution of the poor in the Northern cities is annually increasing, and there has been a frightful growth of pauperism. Mr. Fisher says that, in Massachusetts—the model State!—it reaches 1 in 20. In England it is but double, 1 in 10. Meat is no longer the daily food of the Eastern laborer; and one of the answers from Maine to the Treasury circular in 1845 says that an able bodied man cannot possibly support himself and his wife by agricultural labor! We have seen that the supply of food was already deficient in the Eastern States, and that in Ohio it had reached its maximum point; in other words, that every future increase would be attended with more than a proportional increase of cost. Add to this the growing disposition of Northern population to desert agricultural employments, which must be partly due to their diminished returns, its tendency to concentrate in towns and factories, its rapid rate of natural increase, and its still greater increase by emigration from abroad, and we can have no doubt that Northern laborers are increasing faster than Northern capital. Hence a pressure upon the means of subsistence, and a still greater fall in wages cannot be far off. It would be heavy and instantaneous were the Union dissolved, for that event would, as we have shown, not only throw 20 millions of dollars of new taxes upon the North, but would withdraw 140 millions of capital, which now employs her labor. This loss would fall chiefly, if not entirely, upon wages. The Northern capitalist would not submit to a decrease of profit, but would send a part of his capital to the South, where profits were higher, until he had reduced wages at home to a point which would leave him nearly as much clear gain on his industry as before. He would in this way escape the whole burden of the new taxes, and throw it upon labor.

In fact, in all old communities, we find that the soils which had been most fertile when virgin and fresh, are exhausted by continual cultivation; and every year the want of food forces a resort to lands which were at first rejected as too poor. The returns of agriculture are therefore subject to a steady and natural decline, which cannot be arrested except by the means of improvement, which modern science has discovered. The cultivation of the earth is rapidly assuming a new and scientific character; it is becoming almost a species of manufacturing industry. To be conducted to the best advantage, it will require the application of comparatively large capitals, in draining, liming, sub-soiling, and all the modern elements of "*high farming;*" and it will demand the direction of superior minds to control and organize the labor, of which there must be a certain and regular supply. This necessity is already felt in England. In the model county of Lincoln, the different operations of farming are let out by contract to *gang masters*, who have numbers of laborers, regularly enrolled, ready to undertake any job that may be offered. These gangs are sent a considerable distance in wagons, and men, women, and children, separated from their homes and families, sleep all huddled together in barns, till the contract is completed. "When agriculture thus passes into the manufacturing state," as M. Leon Faucher, the late Minister of the Interior in France, says, "we must not be surprised at the effects of the transformation in the servitude and demoralization of the laborers." Any real and extensive improvement of agriculture in France

and the free States must be attended with similar consequences, for these requirements of scientific farming cannot be met, with due regard to the morals and comfort of the laborers, except in a slaveholding community. The slave feels all the wholesome influences of moral life, near his home, and beneath the guardian care of his master, while the owner can obtain all the efficiency of gang and factory organization, without any of its evils. Hence it is that the highest practical examples of agricultural science in the Union are to be found in the Southern States, despite all their burdens. We have seen what Mr. Solon Robinson says of the wheat culture in Virginia, and recent authentic statements have proved that grain crops are nowhere raised with more profit than in tidewater Virginia, where the slaves are most numerous. There is no farming country north of Virginia which can compare with the valley of the James river for skill, extensive enterprise, and success. If we go further South, Mr. Skinner says, that the rice plantations of Carolina are amongst the best models of agriculture in the world. Mr. Fleischman* says that it would astonish many a Northern farmer to behold the vast canals of the sugar planters, and the immense steam engines at work in draining them—canals which, "if joined together, would well deserve the name of a great national work of internal improvement, but executed without any assistance from the State." He "cannot describe his delight" at the perfection of the cultivation and the beauty of the residences which line the banks of the lower Mississippi. All this is the work of slave institutions, where circumstances have afforded some compensation for the burdens of the Federal Government. And the slaves themselves live in a state of comfort—we had almost said of luxury—superior to many a Northern farmer. The free States have none of these advantages; free labor is not capable of such an organization in agriculture, except by lowering its condition to the level of the degraded operatives of European factories; and capital cannot be employed to the greatest profit on minute farms, whose holders have neither courage to risk it, credit to command it, nor skill to apply it

The combination of such causes has aggravated the war between labor and capital in the old countries, and especially in France, until it has brought about the late socialist upheaving of the very foundations of society. Hence we hear so much of "the right to labor," which means a right to better wages; hence the war upon property, and law, and order, which threatens a worse than Vandal overthrow of European civilization. It is true that the remedy applied by the suffering laborer, increases the evil—that whatever weakens confidence in the right of property retards the increase of public wealth, and cuts off the very springs of that comfort and well-being which they would use violence to share It is true, that the laboring class cannot hold the unwonted power it may have seized; that the triumph of to day must be followed by the defeat of to-morrow, and that the February Saturnalia in the Tuilleries must be expiated by the June carnage in the streets. But when have the slaves of hunger ever listened to reason? The laboring poor cannot but remember the wan faces of their shivering wives, the piteous plaints of their children begging for bread, when they see the costly fur, the dainty food, and luxuries of the rich Their city palaces, and country villas, their "pride that apes humility" in Gothic cottages, and model farms, but serve to make the garrets look more wretched, the fetid cellars darker and damper. The black mouldy loaf is worse than the crumbs which Lazarus may pick up at Dives' door. The stables, the very pig sty of the lord of the loom, is better than the hovel of his factory operative, who, like the prodigal son, would fain fill his belly with the husks of his lord's swine, but, unlike that son, there is no father to array him in purple and fine linen, and kill for him the fatted calf; he must toil for his bread by incessant labor, for 12 or 14 hours a day, and when strength and youth are wasted, and he is weak and weary with sickness and premature old age, he is cast forth upon the cold charity of an almshouse. When the poor man sees all this, and thinks that his hands have worked to build up the wealth and luxury which the rich exclusively enjoy, can we wonder that the thought eats into his heart, and goads him on to deeds of madness and violence? So has it been in Europe, and what security have the free States that the same inexorable fatality will not overtake them? The South has the guarantee of negro slavery; capitalist and laborer, master and slave, are indissolubly united in interest; even if the owner cannot profitably employ and support the laborer, his interest prompts him to transfer him by sale to those who can. In the South, society is divided into masters and slaves; at the North, into rich and poor; and what shall protect her people from the social war, which that division has begotten in the history of every similar community? The dark cloud lowers upon their horizon; its low mutterings are already heard. Every year a larger number is supported by the alms of the States; the criminal statistics show a frightful increase of crime, especially in *offences against property*; the right to gratuitous education by the forced taxes of the property holder is already a part of the public law, and societies are formed to establish a similar right to an equal division of lands. They declare that the earth is the gift of God for the common use—that no one has a right to monopolise it for himself and his posterity—and that every man has a natural claim to an equal share in its enjoyment. The next step is to

*Patent Office Report, 1848.

deny the right to transmit any kind of property by will, or by inheritance, and to force a general re-division in every generation, if not an entire community of ownership. These societies are numerous; they hold *National Conventions*, and have organs, avowed and secret, in the newspaper press. Long leases are distrusted at the North, for there is danger that the tenants will refuse to surrender at their close. Whole counties have united in refusing to pay rents, which were justly due, and the officers of the law, while in the execution of its mandates, have been deliberately murdered. And these violators of the rights of property and life, of the laws of God and man, had strength enough to elect a Governor, whom they could force to pardon the convicted murderers! So strong is the agrarian spirit, that so eminent a man as Mr. Webster is forced to conciliate it by proposing in solemn Senate to confiscate the public lands, by giving a quarter section to every free white male, native and foreign, who may choose to enter upon them. To meet all these dangers the free States have no security out of the Union; once left to themselves, their perils would increase ten fold. For it is essential to the public welfare, to the laborers and the poor themselves, that Government should be able to protect all the rights of property. No matter what the sufferings of the laboring class, they would be doubled and tripled by the insecurity of private rights. In England, this ability in Government has been preserved by a highly aristocratic constitution, both social and political; but in France, the tide has swept away Government after Government, like the waves of the sea; one dictatorship has followed another, now an Emperor, now a King, now the *bourgeois* capitalists, and now mere numbers, all equally unstable. And all this despite the fact that France has been, under all dynasties since the first Revolution, eminently democratic in her civil laws. The reason is not hard to discover. At the bottom of all French politics, and the same applies with equal truth to the free States of the North, lies the idea that *might makes right*; in other words, that a majority of mere members has a natural, indefeasible, and absolute right to govern the minority. No matter about the injustice and oppression of the rule, the minority has no remedy, short of civil war. This theory acknowledges what it calls the right of revolution in extreme cases; but that right can only be established and legitimated by the success which proves the minority to be the strongest party, and thus converts them into a majority: which brings us back to the starting place, that *might makes right*. All the free States, like France, are organized upon this principle of a majority's unlimited right to rule; their idea of a perfect State is a highly centralized, consolidated Government, where the will of the greater number may be expressed and executed with the greatest rapidity and certainty. Such a Government does not confine itself to the external relations of the State, and the protection of life and property at home; but it invades the interior of the family; it destroys the unity of married life by creating separate interests in the parties; it robs parents of the education of their children, so as to destroy individuality of character, and train and prune them to the same moral and mental stature. The majority of numbers is more powerful than the Czar, because it is itself *physical might*; it is more grinding in its tyranny, because it has less feeling of personal responsibility, and its Argus eyes can search every corner of the country; its infallibility is less open to attack than the Pope's, because it is, itself, public opinion. Like other despots, it never hears the truth; its ears are trained to feed upon a fulsome flattery; and throngs of fawning courtiers are ready to call its unbridled passions, greatness, and its lavish expenditure of the taxes, wrung from the minority, goodness. The love of true liberty, and manly independence of thought cannot flourish in such a community; the greediness of office, and the love of power, take their place; there is an eager courting of popular favor, a feverish fear of differing in opinion from the majority, a making haste to leave the few, and join the many. Hence the politicians of the free States have always been wanting in the comprehensive views necessary to found Governments or parties, and in the moral courage, the energy, and administrative talent requisite to conduct them with success. This is acknowledged by Theodore Parker, one of the best writers of New England, in his discourse on the death of John Quincy Adams, and he attributed the superiority of Southern statesmen in this respect to their slave institutions. These accustom them early to deal with men, and they learn to act "as those having authority; the management of the little commonwealth of the plantation is an excellent training for the administration of a larger State. Hence it is that the North has always had to look to the South for Generals and Presidents. No one will deny that this, like all general rules, has had brilliant exceptions, especially in military life, where the nature of the calling, and the tenure of the office begets more independence of character. But the North has never produced a statesman, who has durably stamped the impress of his mind upon the legislation of the country, and made his thought, the thought of his own generation, and of posterity. There is no great measure of public policy which was originated by a Northern lawgiver. Not even such men as Adams, or of Webster, have been able to associate their names with the authorship or development of any far-reaching, abiding acts of legislation. The union of wisdom, in the highest scripture sense, with moral and physical boldness, with firmness and prudence, which made Washington the leader of our Revolutionary armies, and the appropriate guardian of our infant federation, was eminently characteristic of the Southerner and the slaveholder; it was the *degree*

only, not the *kind*, that was miraculous. Such were the chief leaders of the Convention, the men to whose suggestion the Consitution owes its essential features—Madison and Mason, Randolph and Pinkney, all of the South. The founders of the two great parties were neither from the North; Hamilton was a West Indian, and Jefferson, who breathed his soul into the Republican party, and Madison, who gave it a shape, were both Virginians. In the war of 1812, two Virginians, Scott and Harrison, drove back our foes in the North, while a Carolinian led the Southern rifles to victory at New Orleans. All the great measures which have agitated the present generation, the Bank, and the Independent Treasury, the Internal Improvement system, the American system, and free trade, have been brought forth or shaped by the minds of a Calhoun or a Clay, or carried into practice by the iron will of a Jackson. The only Northern Presidents we have ever tried have been failures. The elder Adams, who came into power on the popularity of Washington, in two years broke down, and every vestige of his administration was swept away by the popular voice. His son fared no better, and Van Buren, who mistook cunning for wisdom, was a politician instead of a statesman. The prestige of Jackson's favor could elect him, but nothing could save him after a single trial.

Whatever of greatness our country has attained has been chiefly due to the administrative talent of Southern men, and above all to the Southern vote, which, while it was yet strong enough to be heard, restrained the disposition of the North to convert this Federal Union into a grand consolidated State, on the French model, where the numerical majority might have absolute sway. If the free States were to form a separate confederacy, it would soon assume this character. The measures which, as a section, they have advocated in the present Union, all have that tendency. The forms of their State governments—their political theories—all conspire to make such a result certain. The small States would be deprived of their equal vote in the Senate, and speedily absorbed by their more powerful neighbors. All the proper work of the several State Legislatures, as well as of private enterprise, would be thrown on the central government; the States would become mere provinces, and Congress a National Assembly. In such a State, there would be no safety for property. The number of those who want property is always greater than that of those who have it—the poor more numerous than the rich; and they will certainly use their acknowledged sovereign right, as a majority, to gratify that want, and take what they please. The Northern plan of meeting this danger has always been to create a strong moneyed interest by class legislation, by large Government expenditures, and by patronage. Northern statesmen know that the aristocracy of birth is impossible; they hope to substitute the aristocracy of money by means of the funding and paper system, and by the yet more potent umpire of the manufacturing system. In other words, the plan is to govern the masses by the power of money and corruption. The evil day may be thus delayed, but the remedy increases the inequality of fortunes and the difficulties of the laboring poor. Their sufferings are aggravated and their character degraded; and when the outbreak comes—as come it ultimately must, with the accumulated force of pent up waters—it is the outbreak, not of men, but of demons. France is the living and unhappy proof of all our reasonings. The reaction against the tyranny of the numerical majority, as public opinion, produces the multitude of "false doctrines, heresies, and schisms," the growing infidelity, the Grahamites and Fourierites, the Mormonism and Millerism, and all those wild vagaries of fanaticism, to which the people of the free States are so prone, but which cannot live beneath our Southern sun. The reaction against the tyranny of the numerical majority, as government, begets the proclivity to mobs and tumults, the instability of all constitutions and laws, which we see manifesting itself in the free States. The only rebellion ever known in the United States against the exercise of undisputed constitutional authority was in Pennsylvania. In Rhode Island, the Dorrites would have waged civil war, if their leader's courage had not failed him at the crisis, not for any great principle, but merely to determine, by a trial of actual physical force—a most rational and logical test—which party was the sovereign numerical majority. Federal authority had to be invoked; when has a Southern State ever had to call in foreign aid to settle her domestic difficulties? The Legislature at Harrisburg had to be brought to order by a military force; and the Senate of Ohio, after one or two hundred ballotings, lately elected a Speaker, who has since been forced to resign for bargain and corruption; the State was near being thrown into a state of anarchy last year by the inability of the Legislature to determine who were its members! In the chief cities, mobs dispute the right of private citizens to consult their own taste in a play actor; they set fire to convents of helpless females, and they tear down the house of God because it shelters the wretched emigrant from their brutal fury. And yet when a citizen soldier has the nerve to fire upon them and vindicate the majesty of the law—an example of moral courage, alas! too seldom found at the North—instead of receiving the thanks of the whole community, his house is the mark of the midnight incendiary, and all the avenues of public honors are forever closed to his approach.

From all these dangers the conservative influence of the South has hitherto preserved the free States. Her tributes of slave-grown wealth have kept up the wages of their labor and the profits of their capital—has delayed the war between rich and poor, and soothed the deep-seated sore—

the *immedicabile vulnus*—in their social organization, which nothing can heal. So long as the free States suffer the Union to endure, so long will the South continue her good offices; so long will she be ready to extend her aid, through the Federal authority, to restrain her Dorrites and her socialists, her anti renters and her mobs. For the conservative character of the Union rests upon the slaveholding States. With them, a very different idea of government prevails. They believe that the sovereignty rests with the people, not collectively, but individually. As the Union is a federation of sovereign States, with her several reserved rights, so in their eyes is each State a federation of sovereign individuals, (or families if you will,) with their reserved rights. In their belief there are institutions and rights, derived through the laws of nature, from God alone, which are independent of, and prior to, all government. Such are the relations of parent and child, of husband and wife, of master and slave, and the right to property, which all go to make up the great corner-stone of the social edifice—the family. To preserve these institutions in all their incidents, and all their derivative rights, is the chief duty of government, which it cannot fulfil without such an organization as will give a full and fair voice to every interest and every class, and confer upon each a veto upon the assaults of the others, so that legislation shall not be the voice of mere numbers, but a compromise between the majority and the minority—not merely the will of the greater number, but the resultant of the wills of all. Such a government rests its authority, not upon force, but upon the universal consent; there is no despotic public opinion to stifle freedom of thought; no King Numbers to flatter; no rapacious majority can use the forms of law to gratify its ravenings for plunder, but every class has to consult the interests of others, without whom it cannot act, as well as its own; and the people are trained up to the statesmanlike practice of government in the spirit of union and harmony. The body politic becomes instinct with life and healthy vigor. Public opinion works in its true calling, as the moderator, not the silencer of individual differences. For such an organization, the Southern States have peculiar and well nigh indispensable advantages in their slave institutions, which forever obliterate the division between labor and capital. The devotion of so large a portion of their surface to cotton, sugar, and tobacco, places, at an almost infinite distance, the day when population will press upon the supply of food, for while the increase of its numbers is in proportion only to the relatively small area that produces grain, the other lands furnish an inexhaustible resource to fall back upon in case of an insufficiency of that production.

When we regard the powerful position in the world which the command of the great staple of cotton confers upon the slave States, their numerous natural advantages in climate and productions, their situation midway in the new hemisphere, holding the outlets of Northern commerce, and the approaches to South America and the Pacific, through the Gulf, we cannot forbear thinking that they are destined to play a first part in the history of the world, and discerning the finger of God in their stability, while thrones and democracies are tottering around them. Divine Providence, for its own high and inscrutable purposes, has rescued more than three millions of human beings from the hardships of a savage state, and placed them in a condition of greater comfort than any other laboring class in the world; it has delivered them from the barbarous idolatries of Africa, and brought them within the blessings covenanted to believers in Christ. At the same time it has provided the whites of the Anglo-Norman race in the Southern States with the necessary means of unexampled prosperity, with that slave labor, without which, as a general rule, no colonization in a new country ever has or ever will thrive and grow rapidly; it has given them a distinct and inferior race to fill a position equal to their highest capacity, which, in less fortunate countries, is occupied by the whites themselves. A large class—often the largest class—living from day to day by the daily labor of their hands, exists, and must exist, in every country, and it is impossible, as a general thing, for the persons of that class to have time, or even inclination, for much mental improvement. The force of peculiar genius may raise one in ten thousand to a higher place in society, but such cases become more and more infrequent as wages diminish with the progress of population, and the care of providing food grows more engrossing. The whole question, therefore, resolves itself into this: Shall the laboring class be of an inferior race, so controlled and directed by the superior minds of the whites, as continually to progress in material and moral well being, far beyond any point it has ever shown a power of attaining in freedom?—or shall that laboring class be of whites and equals, capable of becoming "gods, as one of us," and yet condemned to a slow, but sure, increase of want and poverty—the slaves of society instead of individuals—isolated from their employers by the invisible, but impassable, barriers of custom, aliens from their hearts, and utterly separated in manners, information, opinions, and tastes? Between the Southern master and his slave there is a fellow feeling in sorrows and joys, a mutual dependence and affection, which calls into play all the finer feelings of man's nature. What of all this is there between the Northern capitalist and his day laborer. They have not known each other from infancy, nor been partners through good and through ill fortune. Perhaps the tide of emigration brought them together yesterday, and will hurry them apart to morrow. The laborer does not look to his employer as his natural protector against the injustice of the powerful, or as his refuge in sickness or in old age. He must find

that in the almshouse. If the laborer is a factory operative—perhaps a girl, or even a child, for in manufacturing societies the children of the poor never know the plays or freedom of childhood—he is regarded as but a part of the loom he attends to. Factory labor becomes more and more divided, the employments more and more monotonous, with each improvement in machinery. There is none of that variety of occupation, and those frequent calls upon the discretion and intelligence of the laborer, which make the work on a plantation in the South at once the most improving, the healthiest, and the most delightful species of manual labor The factory operative, on the contrary, is chained to some single minute employment, which must be repeated thousands of times without the least variation. Nothing worse for intellect can be imagined.

Idiocy and insanity multiply under their influences. In 1840, while the proportion of idiots and insane, to the whole population, was only 1 in 1,100 in the slave States, it was 1 in 900 in all the free States, and as much as 1 in 630 in New England alone. The effects of factory life on health are quite as bad. The cotton factories, the dyeing and bleaching factories, are hotbeds of consumption and disease of the lungs. At Sheffield, a *dry-grinder*, no matter how vigorous his constitution, is never known to live beyond the fated age of thirty-five. In Massachusetts, according to her own statistics, factories shorten the life of the operative one-third! According to the evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, it has taken but thirty two years to change the operatives of Manchester from a race more vigorous than those of New England now are—a well fed, well clothed, moral population—into demoralized, enervated, feeble beings. As one of the witnesses says, "their life has been passed in turning the mule-jenny; their minds have weakened and withered like a tree." How many years will it require to produce these effects in the North, when the span of man's life is already so much shortened? The very severity of the labor undermines the constitution. What wears out the human body is not the greatness of any exertion, but its duration. But the spinner has to move silently from one machine to another for twelve or fourteen hours a day, the attention never to flag, the muscles never to rest. It has been calculated that the factory girl walks in this way twenty miles a day! The system is equally pernicious for the morals. We always find, first, illegitimate births, and then prostitution, as well as drunkenness and crime, increase in great manufacturing districts How should it be otherwise, when the family is broken up and the factory boarding house substituted in its place; when children and girls are separated from their parents at the most critical period of life, crowded in heated work rooms with a promiscuous herd of strangers, and lost to all the conservative influences of home? In what regard is such a condition of labor superior to Southern slavery? Let the free States begin within their own borders; let them place their white slaves in as good a condition, moral and physical, as the negroes, and then they may talk to us. The increasing hosts who live by toil in factories, the paupers who belong to the State, and the still greater number who drag out a wretched existence in the crowded haunts of want and vice in their great cities, form more than an offset to anything that can be said of negro slavery. We have no patience with this meddling philanthropy, which does not take the beam out of its own eye before it pulls the mote out of its brother's, at the imminent risk of his eyesight; whose charity is all for show, and never grows warm except for objects at a distance; which overlooks want and misery at its own gate, in its eagerness to reform countries it has never seen, and institutions it cannot understand. It is the crying vice of our age; this desire to attend to every body's business but our own, to perform any duties but those that lie immediately before us. Instead of making the most of our opportunities, we waste our time in vain wishes that the opportunities were greater. The great duty is to improve to the utmost of our abilities the condition in which it has pleased God to place us, and therewith to be content.

But this does not suit the ideas of our Northern brethren. They must make anew all the work of creation. Divine Providence instituted the relation of master and slave; but it is offensive to their finer notions of justice, and inconsistent with that cardinal principle, "that all men are created equal." Therefore they pronounce it "infamous," and "a crime against humanity;" and it must be abolished, either directly or indirectly, "by preventing its extension, localizing and discouraging it." The high civilization that accompanies it, all its advantages to both parties must be sacrificed, and both thrown upon the evils of a future that is present in St. Domingo and Jamaica. God instituted marriage; he decreed "that man and woman should be one flesh, and that the man should be lord over the woman." But our Northern philanthropists have discovered that this is all wrong; "all men were created equal," therefore the woman shall vote, as in New Jersey: she shall no longer be one with the man, nor shall he be her lord The wise old common law carried out into practice the Divine institution, and produced the finest race of matrons and of maidens the world has ever seen; but the Northern lawgivers prefer the law which was the offspring of the corruptions of heathen and imperial Rome; they divide the household into separate interests; the domestic hearth is no longer a common property to the family. The consequences are what they were in Rome—what they are in Italy and Germany and in France, where the illegitimate births are 1 in 15 The sanctity of marriage is gone; it becomes in practice as in theory of law, a mere civil tie. The touching promise to cleave together "for better, for

worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death do us part," is wholly forgotten. Divorces multiply, till the dockets of the courts are so crowded with applications for them, as was the case in Hamilton county, Ohio, last year, that all other business is impeded. God created the relation of parent and child—the child to honor and the parent to educate and train up in the way he should go; but it has been determined in the North that the State is the best guardian of the child, and some of the fanatics there contend that, upon the same principles of equality, the relation is altogether obsolete. Certainly the desecration of marriage ties is the best way to undermine it, and assimilate their country to the great French model, where 1 person in 32 is a foundling, and has no parent but the State—where there are one million of human beings who have never known a father or mother, brethren or kindred! This must be the beau ideal of socialist philanthropy. Yet there is one of the Divine ordinances to which the Northern capitalists would fain hold fast, and that is—the right to property. But your true philanthropist is a relentless logician, and after destroying all family ties, he will not spare what is their less valuable offspring. "All men are created equal," he says, and equal rights to all the goods of this life make a part of this natural equality. Man brings nothing into this world, and he can carry nothing out. Away with wills and inheritances, of that to which there is no natural right, which we did not hold before our birth, and cannot enjoy after our death. He would proclaim a year of jubilee every generation—a wiping out of old scores—all property thrown into a hotch-potch, and a general re division, to conform to man's natural equality. But perhaps when these Free State philanthropists have reformed the work of God, and corrected what they consider the foolishness of Providence, they may find that a yet greater evil is left untouched—the presumptuous sinfulness of their own hearts.

The South indulges in no such follies. She understands her condition and her duties; she means to employ all the talents God has given her in improving the former, and in fulfilling the latter. She is satisfied with her institutions, and she desires no change. She only asks to be allowed in peace to work out all the good of which they are capable, and to achieve the high destiny which lies before her. But to this end, she must have guaranties of present and future equality of political power, so as to protect her interests, and above all maintain her rights and her honor. To lose these would be to lose her self respect, to be false to her old renown, to abandon her lofty calling, and the future of glory to which it leads. If the North wishes to dissolve the Union, let her persist in aggressions which fulfil no holy purpose, and minister no substantial gratification to selfishness. But if she really deems it invaluable for the tide of Southern wealth it pours into her lap, and the conservative influence it wields over her elements of social discord, let her pause before it be too late. The South loves the equal Union of our forefathers for its historic associations, and the world-wide glory of its stars and stripes. But she will not tamely submit to see *her* stars changed into satellites. She wishes to preserve the Union; but in any event, come weal, come woe, her course is fixed. She has cast the die—she has past the Rubicon, and no power may stay her onward march to EQUALITY OR INDEPENDENCE.

A 1.—*Table of the exports of Southern and Northern domestic produce.*

Years.	Cotton.	Tobacco.	Rice.	Total of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice.	Southern share of the other domestic exports in the ratio of population.	Total export of Southern produce.	Total exports of Northern produce.
1790–1800	$19,105,755	$49,311,260	$27,554,109	$95,971,124	$104,071,190	$200,042,314	$111,248,511
1801–1810	88,073,500	54,773,730	21,592,660	164,439,890	126,860,890	291,300,780	133,071,866
1811–1820	156,726,604	50,051,999	23,021,144	229,799,747	111,706,852	341,506,599	121,194,689
1821–1830	256,554,291	57,788,204	20,070,244	334,412,742	97,488,201	431,900,943	104,204,080
1831–1840	528,506,110	74 457,223	22,257,791	625,191,124	118,215,517	743,407,067	149,482,842
1841–1845 } June 30. }	256,846,765	42,605,511	9,886,144	309,338,410	71,041,660	380,380,070	95,781,3?6
1846	42,767,341	8,478,270	2,564,991	53,810,603	21,000,000	74,810,603	27,331,290
1847	53,415,848	7,242,086	3,605,896	64,263,830	37,736,170	102,000,000	48,637,464
1848	61,998,294	7,551,122	2,331,824	71,881,240	26,203,943	98,085,183	34,878,938
1849	66,396,967	5,804,207		75,000,000	24,500,000	99,500,000	32,210,081

A 2.—*Table of the rest of the Foreign trade.*

Years.	Imports, divided in ratio of the exports of domestic produce of the		Total imports and exports of domestic produce of the		Exports of foreign produce divided in the same ratio.		Total exports and imports.	
	South.	North.	South.	North.	South.	North.	South.	North.
1790–1800	$397,000,000	$217,845,454	$597,042,314	$329,093,965	$116 000,000	$74,883,449	$713,042,314	$403,977,414
1800–1810	631,680,000	295,083,510	922,985,780	429,055,370	222,300,000	100,233,845	1 145,7?0,780	529,289,291
1811–1820	591,119,274	217,000,000	932,625,873	338,194,689	93,800,000	33,391,314	1,026 425,873	371,556,003
1821–1830	643,633,100	155,000 000	1,075,534,343	259,204,080	185,400,000	44 243,834	1,260,934,343	303,447,914
1831–1840	1,084,676,082	218,000,000	1,?28,083,149	367,482,842	165,700,000	33,751,994	1,993,783,149	401,234,836
1841–1845	487,551,662	131,000,000	867,931,732	326,781,386	48,600,000	12,005,023	916,531,732	238,786,409
1848	115,074,962	39,923,966	213,160,145	74,742,904	15,750,000	5,382,315	228,910,145	80,125,219

A 3.—*Table of the actual exports from, and imports into, Southern and Northern Ports.*

Years.	Actual exports of domestic produce from the ports at the		Actual imports into the		Total.		Exports of foreign goods from the		Grand Total.	
	South.	North.	South.	North.	South.	North.	South.	North.	South.	North.
1790–1800	$170,541,654	$140,749,171	$244,000,000	$370,845,451	$414,541,654	$511,594,625	$51,921,480	$138,961,969	$466,463,134	$650,556,594
1801–1810	262,075,114	162,297,532	232,000,000	695,663,510	494,075,114	857,961,042	121,844,860	200,678,985	615,629,974	1,058,640,027
1811–1820	275,861,276	186,840,012	202,000,000	606,119,274	477,861,276	792,959,286	25,315,687	101,875,627	503,176,963	894,334,913
1821–1830	310,166,097	225,638,926	135,475,117	663,158,283	445,941,214	888,797,209	27,096,343	202,547,491	473,037,557	1,091,344,700
1831–1840	676,130,086	216,459,823	220,382,975	1,082,295,107	896,813,061	1,298,752,930	37,637,446	161,814,548	934,450,507	1,460,567,478
1846	57,425,144	44,713,749	13,135,111	108,256,686	70,863,255	152,970,435	714,683	10,631,940	71,577,938	163,602,375
1848	75,931,570	56,969,551	17,628,137	137,370,791	93,562,707	194,340,342	1,874,611	19,258,704	95,437,318	213,598,946

A 1.—*Table showing the gain to the North, and consequent loss to the South, of Southern capital in the foreign trade, based on the preceding tables, A. 1, 2, and 3.*

Years.	On exports of domestic produce.	On imports.	On both.	On exports of foreign produce.	On all.
1790–1800	$29,500,660	$153,000,000	$182,500,660	$64,078,520	$246,579,180
1801–1810	29,225,666	399,680,000	428,915,666	100,414,140	529,350,806
1811–1820	65,045,323	389,119,274	454,764,597	68,484,313	523,248,910
1821–1830	121,331,846	508,158,283	629,593,129	158,303,657	787,896,786
1831–1840	66,976,981	864,293,107	931,270,088	128,062,554	1,059,332,642
1846	17,382,459	75,956,686	93,339,145	7,631,940	100,971,085
1848	22,150,013	97,446,825	119,597,438	13,875,389	133,472,827

These four tables are compiled from the Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury in 6 Ex. Doc., 1845–6, 6 Ex. Doc. 1847–8, 3 Ex. Doc. 1839–40, and subsequent years; also from the annual reports of commerce and navigation; also from Hazard's Register, vols. I. and II. The actual imports into the two sections respectively, before 1821, are apportioned nearly in the ratio of the duties paid, as the official reports do not distinguish them prior to that year. For the years 1792–1802, the *quantities* only of rice and tobacco are given in reports of the exports. We have carefully calculated the *value* from data in the same report, and elsewhere.

B.—*Table of the taxes paid in duties by the South and North.*

[See Secretary of Treasury's Report in 1839 and 1845–6.]

Years.	Gross amount of duties paid after deducting drawbacks on foreign goods exported.	Amount paid in the ratio of the exports of their produce by the		Same sum apportioned in the constitutional ratio between		Difference.	Tax paid by the South per head.	Tax paid by the North per head.
		South.	North.	South.	North.			
1791–1800	$76,665,028	$49,500,000	$27,185,028	$35,672,106	$40,992,922	$13,827,894	$21.60	$11.25
1801–1810	139,114,967	95,400,000	43,714,967	63,017,891	76,097,076	32,382,109	31.27	13.56
1811–1820	175,396,369	129,200,000	46,196,369	76,647,381	98,748,988	52,552,619	32.37	10.37
1821–1830	223,021,059	179,650,000	43,371,059	94,056,227	128,964,832	85,593,773	34.71	7.12
1831–1840	216,727,325	180,750,000	35,977,325	87,464,956	129,262,369	932,850,044	27.42	4.29
1841–1845 } June 30. }	96,125,349	76,700,000	19,425,339	37,849,356	58,275,993	38,850,644	10.16	1.99
	$927,050,097	$711,200,000	$215,850,097	$394,707,917	$532,342,180	$316,492,083		

C.—*Table of Revolutionary Pensions paid in each section, from* 1791 *to* 1838.

[Compiled from 307 Senate Document, 1838–9.]

	1791–1800	1801–10.	1811–20.	1821–30.	1831–38.	Total.
New England	$326,438	$285,563	$2,285,216	$3,318,340	$6,070,039	$14,385,566
New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania	433,262	323,754	1,839,456	3,971,623	5,525,159	12,093,254
The new Free States		1,199	222,304	709,112	950,162	1,883,777
Total of the Free States	$759,700	$610,116	$4,346,976	$10,000,045	$12,545,260	$28,262,597
Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Dist. Columbia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, and Georgia	$182,561	$183,549	$669,848	$1,250,133	$2,197,008	$4,483,099
The new Slave States		549	288,944	756,667	1,807,108	2,853,268
Total of the Slave States	$182,561	$184,098	$958,792	$2,006,800	$4,004,116	$7,336,367

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